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The Week

ADDITIONAL point is given to Robert L. Cruden's article in this issue, "The Great Ford Myth," by events which took place at Dearborn, Michigan, after his article was in type, and just as the paper was going to press. Three thousand unemployed engaged in a "hunger march" and demonstration outside the gates of the Ford plant there on Monday. The police, supported by Ford's own private army, called the "special service men," began by using tear bombs and spraying the men with water from a hose (in freezing weather). Then they fired, first over the heads of the crowd and finally at them, killing four men and injuring many others. Press reports say that this was a "Communist demonstration," describing the participants as "unemployed Communists." We do not know whether this statement is true; but even if it is, what possible excuse is there for shooting the marchers down? Their parade was peaceful till it was stopped at the Dearborn city line; the Detroit police said they saw no cause for interference. Why shouldn't they have been allowed to believe shooting Communists is a way to discourage their cause? It will be a long time before the superman of the cheap car lives down this police butchery, by his own employees, in a town which, practically speaking, he owns. The great Ford myth has been washed away in blood.

THE Democratic-Republican tax bill is a disguised attempt to saddle the government deficit as little as possible on the rich and as much as possible on the poor. By placing a so-called "manufacturers' tax" of 2¼ percent on every article produced except foods, books, magazines and religious goods, it will levy at least 2¼ percent on a large part of every consumer's income. The man who makes $500 or $1,000 a year will have to pay this tax as well as the man who makes $100,000. How outrageous this is may be realized when we remember that even those in the lowest brackets subject to income tax will be charged, in that tax, only 2 percent on their net incomes. If the bill had honestly gone about its purpose, it would have abolished all exemptions to the income tax and would have charged everyone a minimum of 2¼ percent on his earnings, allowing, say, a 40-percent deduction for food expenses to those with net incomes below $2,000. But of course no Congress could do this and still represent itself as interested in the welfare of those who are too poor to get along as it is. So the levy is disguised. A real "manufacturers' tax" would have raised the rate on corporate profits from 12 percent, not to 13 percent as in this bill, but to 15 or 20 percent. This tax, not being paid by those companies which make no profit, could not so readily be passed along.

ARISTIDE BRIAND embodied, as no other statesman of our time, two separate political ideals: the first was peace, the second flexibility. The first ideal brought him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1926; to the world it gave the Locarno agreements of 1925, the Kellogg Pact of 1929, and the plan for a United States of Europe advanced in 1930. The second ideal kept Briand himself in a position where he could advance and support these various proposals; it resulted in his being a member of twenty-three Cabinets and eleven times Premier of France. The second ideal was also the cause of

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members should accept portfolios in a bourgeois ministry. Briand, however, was willing to coöperate with practically any government, Right, Left or Center; and this eternal flexibility led him into eternal contradictions—such, for example, as suppressing the railway strike of 1910, when most of his early career had been spent in advocating strikes of just this nature. Other statesmen meeting him for the first time—noting his sleepy eyes, his unruly mustache, the cigarette forever drooping from his thick lips and the words that fell as casually as its ashes—were apt to conclude that he was a harmless opponent; but other statesmen won noisy arguments and vanished. Briand himself surrendered and came back—came back, indeed, so often that he was regarded as the permanent Foxy Grandpa of the French Foreign Office. The tragedy of his life, some people are saying, is that his death came at the wrong moment; he would have fared better with posterity if he had died in the same year as Stresemann, his great colleague at Locarno. His real tragedy, however, was that his two ideals have proved to be incompatible. Peace cannot be achieved in the modern world by an eternal series of compromises between Left and Right, justice and expediency, truth and votes at the next election. It must be the work of statesmen at once less opportunist than Briand and less idealistic.

THE Lindbergh kidnaping is not only a harrowing private tragedy; it is also a public event, the effects of which on the public consciousness are likely to be as extensive as those of an earthquake, a flood or even a minor war. These effects promise, moreover, to be almost wholly pernicious. If the criminals by any chance succeed in collecting their ransom and escaping without punishment, we can expect a series of abductions all over the country. Even should they be caught, we can expect a wave of hysterical legislation, the intention of which will be to prevent such crimes in the future, but the effect of which will be further to circumscribe the liberty of all Americans—except American policemen, who will be encouraged in their present tendency toward developing into uniformed gangsters, fighting the other gangsters by their own weapons of abduction, secret confinement, torture, and levying a similar tribute on the public. The Lindbergh case will be used as an argument for raising new barriers against immigration and for the compulsory registration of aliens. But its effect on family life will be more lasting and perhaps more serious. The men and women who were children in the days of the Charlie Ross kidnaping can remember how their mothers warned them to stay in the house, never talk to strangers, and regard every old-clothes man as a potential ogre who would carry them off and strangle them and cut them into little pieces. The Lindbergh case is likely to produce an even wider reaction. One can hardly estimate its effect on popular psychology, but it is safe to say if they are not exposed to maternal overanxiety, or instilled with fear and hatred of everyone outside the family circle.

AS FOR the legislative aspect of the Lindbergh case, there is grave danger that ill considered and ineffective laws will be rushed through state legislatures and through Congress under the pressure of public opinion. Repellent as the crime is, experience teaches us the folly of setting up penalties so severe that juries will refuse to convict even when they believe the defendant is guilty. The death penalty is not necessarily a deterrent to crime; on the contrary it may make the criminal harder to find and may make the killing of the victim more likely if discovery is imminent. The federal bill, which has been pending for some months, provides the death sentence for interstate transportation of a kidnaped victim. Its proponents argue that kidnaping is now very largely an interstate commerce, and that the long arm of the federal government is needed to wipe it out. Its opponents say that handing the matter over to the federal government is an evasion of local police responsibility, that far too many questions have already been thrown into the federal courts and that the states can already coöperate to any extent necessary in apprehending kidnapers. Certainly it must be said that the case for a federal law has not yet been made. There is as yet no evidence, for example, that it would have made the slightest difference in the Lindbergh case. The kidnaping racket cannot be ended by hysterical legislation enacted in a moment of deep public emotion.

MEANWHILE, the kidnaping has afforded an opportunity for displaying at their worst the vulgar arts of ballyhoo as exhibited by radio broadcasters and the tabloid press. It would be hard to imagine worse taste than that displayed in some of the radio broadcasts from Hopewell, the patent insincerity of the announcer's accents of woe, the anxious advertising patter by which the radio deferred to the daily press—"permit us to remind you that you will find these and all other details of the kidnaping in your daily paper." As for the press, never has it made a more egregious display of sentimentality and bad taste. On no day since the case opened has there been more legitimate news than could have been told in half a column of type; but the editors have proceeded on their usual theory that if the public is interested in anything it insists on reading 20,000 words a day about it, however uninformative those words may be. Therefore we have had "human interest" by the acre, sob-sisters in regiments and trained seals with an authentic aura of circus ballyhoo. A plague of reporters, newspaper photographers and motion-picture men descended upon Hopewell and proceeded to get into everybody's way. Their messages clogged the telephone and telegraph systems; they either un-

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false clues, and to exploit the theories of "experts" who for various reasons sought to get into the limelight. Some of the New York tabloids, in the struggle for circulation, published huge headlines predicting the immediate return of the child, headlines which were absolutely false and which the editors must have known to be false, unless you assume them to be even more moronic than their readers. As we go to press, it is still too early to say whether this tremendous uproar has made the recovery of the child more difficult; but it seems probable that this is true, the kidnapers having been frightened by the clamor into remaining in hiding longer than they otherwise would have done.

THE announcement that France is trying to bring about a customs union among Austria, Hungary and the members of the Little Entente—Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Jugoslavia—may prove of the greatest importance for the future of Central Europe. Ever since the War, and for obvious reasons, Austria has followed the lead of Germany in international affairs. Today, with Germany all but helpless and the French triumphantly dominant, the Austrians have found themselves obliged to listen to Paris whether they want to or not. The new proposal is in a sense the answer to the German scheme for a customs union, which was pronounced illegal by the World Court. It may be said for the French plan that, generally speaking, the situation in the five countries named is so bad that almost any change seems likely to be an improvement. These states have erected tariff walls among themselves, and have put restrictions upon the export of money, so that trade is almost strangled. The object has been to encourage home industry and prevent inflation; but as might be expected, the result has been highly undesirable from both points of view. Heretofore, the French have worked with the Little Entente and have had the same attitude of sabotage toward Austria and Hungary which they have used in Germany. The French have loaned money to the states of the Little Entente (a new loan of $24,000,000 to Czechoslovakia has been announced only this week). But loans are no substitute for trade, and they cannot be increased indefinitely. French dominance of Europe, including the Danubian countries, is now complete. It might as well be admitted and the French required to accept the responsibility which goes with their power. Whether a customs union of the five countries which does not also include Germany can be of economic importance, is another question and one the French will presently be forced to answer.

A ONE-MAN campaign waged by Senator Norris of Nebraska for many years has at last had its effect. Both the Senate and the House have agreed to submit for ratification by the states a new constitutional amendment abolishing "lame-duck" sessions of Congress. At present, Representatives until December of the following year, thirteen months later. The new constitutional amendment provides that the new Congress shall meet on the third of January, about two months after the election, and that the President shall be inaugurated on January 20. The merits of this proposal are obvious, they have been set forth in our pages many times and we do not propose to reiterate them. We are chiefly interested in knowing why it is that a measure of such undoubted value and importance should have been accepted over and over again by the Senate and repeatedly rejected by the House. It has been suggested that the entire House comes up for reëlection every two years, and only one-third of the Senate; and that the House therefore contains at any given moment a far greater proportion of lame ducks and those who expect to become lame ducks than does the upper chamber. At any rate, the lower chamber has at last redeemed itself, and the measure goes to the state legislatures. They have seven years in which to accept or reject it, and we do not see how it can fail to become a part of the Constitution long before that time has elapsed.

IN THIS country, where decline has become the most popular word on our financial pages during the past few years—decline in stock prices, wages, dividends, car loadings—it is gratifying to learn that there has been at least one decline in our social life which we can hardly deplore. The American Child Health Association issues a report this week stating that during 1930 the infant-mortality rate reached the lowest point ever attained by the cities of this country. The rate for this year was 62.2 deaths for every thousand of live births, which is four points lower than that of the preceding year, when the figure was 66.2. As in previous years, the states on the Pacific Coast and in the Rocky Mountains hold the record, the state of Washington having only forty-one deaths for every thousand births in urban communities, while the rate in Idaho, Oregon, Utah, Nebraska and Montana did not go above fifty. Among the ten largest cities, Chicago and St. Louis are tied for first place with a mortality rate of fifty-four, New York has fifty-seven, while Boston and Pittsburgh foot the list with seven more deaths than the average for the country. Shorewood, Wisconsin, leads the country with an infant-mortality rate of zero, a figure which even the wage scale hasn't reached, at least so far.

JUST as the Senate investigation of Wall Street was about to start, it was suddenly broadened in scope to an important extent. Instead of looking merely into short selling, the Senate committee will investigate all stock-market operations, whether by bulls or bears. This is an excellent emendation. From the day when Harding took office down to the present, we have seen one national administration after another doing everything in its power to

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nomic position of the country. This very investigation was originally designed as another attempt to blackmail the bears into submission, the recent change in the rules of the Stock Exchange having proved disappointingly ineffective in accomplishing the same purpose. In New York State there is a law forbidding anyone to spread false rumors which will affect the market—a law which would never, conceivably, be enforced against anyone who was sending the market *up*. If the Senate interrogators call the right witnesses, and know what questions to ask them, we shall get some extremely interesting information about the great bull market, and how the government helped to whip it up to greater and greater heights of hysteria.

ON PAGE 85 of The New Republic for March 9 appeared an editorial paragraph commenting on Mr. Arthur Brisbane's attitude toward armament and making the statement that Mr. Brisbane is without children. The New Republic is advised that this statement is incorrect, and wishes to express its regret to Mr. Brisbane for the error. The editorial statement was based upon Mr. Brisbane's biography in the current issue of "Who's Who in America," which does not mention his having any children, although this information is requested and is customarily given.

Why Do We Boycott Russia?

IN SPITE of Japan's aggression in the Far East, The New Republic has maintained that it would be unwise for the rest of the world to declare an official boycott against her, because such a measure would be likely to drive her to extremes and widen the existing war. But the United States is now officially maintaining some of the most effective elements of an economic boycott against another government which has not violated its international pledges, which is not engaged in imperialistic aggression, and which, to complete the irony of the situation, is now faced with a danger of invasion by Japan itself. We refer to the American discouragement of imports from Soviet Russia through the subterfuge of forbidding the entry of goods supposed to be made by "convict labor," and to the official embargo against loans which the Soviet Union would like to raise in this country in order to purchase from us more of what it needs. We have previously contended that in the economic interest of the United States we should cease boycotting Russia. Now it is highly important to do so in the interest of neutrality.

The possibility of war between Japan and Russia has until recently been lightly regarded because it was known that the Soviet Union, striving with all its energy to build up industry, would be extremely reluctant to fight. It was supposed that the one [illegible] would be the Japanese in-

churia. Now, however, the scenes have shifted. The danger is that Japan will encroach upon Siberia itself, by an attack either on Vladivostok or, to the westward, in the region of Mongolia. And the Soviet government has made clear that an invasion of its own territory will not be permitted without opposition. It has done so because it apparently takes with the utmost seriousness a series of Japanese documents published in a semi-official way by Izvestia. These were written by military personages in Japan, and urge that this is the time for Japan to carry out her plan of seizing Siberian territory. An equivocal denial of the authenticity of the documents has been issued by the Japanese; meanwhile there are rumors that troop concentrations are under way near the border, and that Japanese war vessels have sailed for Vladivostok. These rumors are bound to be given more credence than they otherwise would receive, on account of the fact that Japan habitually strikes without warning, and without declaration of war.

Whether it is necessary to take the present Japanese threat as seriously as Moscow evidently takes it, we frankly do not know. Some believe that Japan has allowed it to assume importance for the sake of its effect on the Western Powers now assembled at Geneva. If Japan promises to assume the role of the defender of capitalism in the Far East, the governments of France and Great Britain may whisper to the smaller nations who want drastic action in defense of the League covenants that they had better tread softly. A diplomatic stratagem such as this may explain the incident. Nevertheless, it is known that the Japanese military forces have long cherished an ambition to consolidate a great empire on the Asiatic mainland, including not only Manchuria, but territory now under Russian rule. Whenever these forces are dominant, as they now are, there is danger that steps to execute this ambition will be attempted. And it is certain that a military staff would choose a time when the circumstances seemed most favorable. That circumstances now do seem favorable, as far as possible interference by Western Europe and America is concerned, is proved by the advance in Manchuria and China. And the longer Japan waits, the stronger Soviet Russia is likely to be. She is building plants capable of turning out great quantities of munitions and supplies. She has a large program of railway improvement, including, of course, the Trans-Siberian Railway.

One thing is certain—the chief deterrent to a mad adventure of the kind on the part of Japan would be the fear of successful Russian opposition. And Russia would be in a far better position, both to build up her resources quickly and to carry on a war successfully, if she were in a position to buy freely in this country. We could take no more effective action to prevent the spread of war in Asia than by giving Russia every legitimate aid in strengthening her powers of resistance.

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convict labor is one of the hindrances to Russian trade. The New Republic does not advocate the exploitation of convict labor, but this is not the real issue involved. The embargo was adopted, and its specific means of enforcement was devised, in the interest of American producers who dislike Russian competition of any sort and who want to block imports from Russia by any possible means. The means in this case is devious. If the United States customs officials—ignorant by any official contact of what goes on in Russia—suspect that any shipment is tainted by convict labor, they can force the importer to hold the goods in a warehouse until he can prove that convict labor was not used. This process is long and expensive, and places such a burden of risk on the importer that it actively discourages trade, no matter what the facts about the status of the Russian workers in question. If the United States had diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and arranged this matter on a reasonable basis by inspection at the source, it would undoubtedly be found that few or none of the shipments Russia wished to make need be barred. This restriction of imports is doubly hampering to Russian trade, since Russia is unable to borrow in this country and must pay for all her purchases by current sales.

The official Washington disapproval of long-term financing of Russian purchases is likewise effective in minimizing this trade. It is, of course, unsound economically to lend large sums of money to a nation which we have reason to believe cannot repay them, as to Germany before the moratorium, or to Japan at present. But it is customary and sound to lend money to a nation in order to build up its productive facilities, to a nation which is quite obviously increasing its national income and so can in the future meet obligations. Furthermore, the State Department's disapproval of Russian loans does not rest on economic grounds at all. It is a political decree, resting on the supposed refusal of the Soviet government to pay the obligations of its predecessors. Offers of the Soviet Union to negotiate in this dispute have been ignored. It is absurd to suppose that an equally stiff attitude would have been adopted if the present Russian government had been a capitalist one.

That the United States government has in fact restricted trade with Russia by these measures is easily demonstrated. Purchases in this country for the Soviet Union were 60 percent less in 1931 than in 1930, and sales here were 33 percent less. The total decrease in trade turnover was 56 percent. The Economic Review of the Soviet Union, published by the Amtorg Trading Corporation, states in its March issue, "The drop in trade last year was due primarily to difficulties connected with the marketing of Soviet products in this country as well as the unfavorable credit terms available here as compared with those granted by European countries." In the same year, Soviet purchases in Germany, both on account of the German long-term credits to Russia and "the favorable conditions provided for the sale of Soviet products on the German market."

In view of the danger of a Russo-Japanese conflict, it is high time to revise our official policy toward trade with the Soviets. We are now in an un-neutral position with regard to that trade. We deal freely with one nation, but not with the other. The nation with which we deal freely is the one, moreover, whose international action we strongly disapprove. We ought to disapprove still more strongly if Japan widens its aggression to include conquest in foreign territory which is now tranquil and subject to a firmly organized government. Let us not be caught, by a possible outbreak of hostilities, in this position of unreasonable partiality. More than that, let us not actively encourage such an outbreak by continuing our policy of weakening the resisting power of the nation which has reason to fear aggression.

Convicting the Innocent

A DISTRICT attorney on the occasion of a celebrated murder trial in Worcester, Massachusetts, some years ago, is reported to have said: "Innocent men are never convicted. Don't worry about it; it never happens in the world. It is a physical impossibility."

In a few weeks the Yale University Press will publish a book by Professor Edwin Borchard, of the School of Law, which presents a collection of sixty-five cases, mostly from recent American experience, in which accused persons were convicted of crimes of which they were later proved absolutely innocent. About half of these cases involved convictions for murder, while the rest were for lesser felonies. They were, of course, chosen from a very much greater number of known cases of miscarriage of justice.

In the main, the causes of the errors were: mistaken identification, circumstantial evidence from which erroneous inferences were drawn, perjury, or some combination of these misleading means of proof. An analysis of the miscarriages of justice portrayed exposes certain fundamental weaknesses in our criminal procedure which may be susceptible of cure or alleviation, thus minimizing, if not preventing, the future commission of similar errors.

In nearly half the cases the errors were due to mistaken identification by the victims of a crime of violence. Juries are apparently disposed more readily to credit the veracity and reliability of the victims of an outrage than any amount of contrary evidence by or on behalf of the accused, whether by way of alibi, character witnesses or other testimony. These cases illustrate the fact that the emotional balance of the victim or eye-witness is so disturbed by his harrowing experience that his powers of perception become distorted and his

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identification enter other motives: the desire to requite a crime, to exact vengeance, to find a scapegoat, to support, consciously or unconsciously, an identification already made by another. How valueless these identifications are is indicated by the fact that in most of the cases described the wrongfully accused person and the guilty criminal only slightly resembled each other.

In thirteen of the convictions, most of them for murder, no crime was committed at all. A person disappears, somebody later finds a rag or a bone or a hank of hair, and a vivid imagination, combined perhaps with a little circumstantial evidence and a dash of perjury, concocts the charge of a horrendous murder. The alleged culprit is found, a chain of evidence is woven around him, an excited and gullible community demands its sacrifice, and the accused is convicted and condemned to life imprisonment, if not worse. Then, after the lapse of months or years, the "murdered" person reappears, to the chagrin of all concerned except the helpless victim. He is then pardoned for a crime which neither he nor anyone else committed. In several of the cases the accused came within a hair's breadth of execution. Many of these cases are mute arguments against the death penalty, especially in cases when convictions were based on circumstantial evidence.

In fifty-two other cases a crime was committed, but not by the accused. Circumstantial evidence, mistaken identity or perjury misled the jury. In all but sixteen of the sixty-five cases considered, the tragic miscarriage of justice is attributable in substantial degree to some fault, carelessness or overzealousness on the part of the police or prosecution. In some cases the delinquency is hardly excusable, as, for example, where the police commit perjury or suppress evidence of innocence in their possession. The third degree plays only a minor part in these cases, for in only three of them was there any "confession" by the accused.

A considerable number of the wrongfully accused prisoners had unsavory or tarnished records, a factor which doubtless influenced the jury to believe the worst. Prosecutors insist on getting into the record evidence of any prior conviction, if at all possible, even though many states prohibit its introduction. "Baumes Law" statutes, punishing repeaters with drastic sentences, invite the introduction of evidence of a prior conviction, a device which grievously prejudices the accused. The public, baffled by crime waves and by the frequent acquittal of guilty criminals, is tolerant of practices which deprive a defendant of the normal safeguards against injustice. Prisoners, to escape questioning on their previous record, often refuse to go to the witness stand, preferring to take their chances on any inferences which might be drawn against them. English practice permits questions on previous record only where the past and present crimes bear a direct relation, as in forgeries, or where the prisoner The privilege against self-incrimination does not give the accused the protection it is generally supposed to give, and often subjects him to new abuses which could be obviated by its abandonment.

In eight of the cases the unreliability of so-called "expert" evidence by ballistic or handwriting experts, paid by one side, is manifested.

The various examples of miscarriage of justice were uncovered in various ways: by the reappearance of the alleged "murdered" person; by the fact that, in peculiarly original crimes, such as forgery or counterfeiting, the crime continued to be perpetrated after the wrong man was in custody; by the corroborated confessions of the guilty persons, the prosecuting witnesses or the accomplices in a joint crime; or, finally, by sheer good luck. The subsequent conviction of the real culprit usually proves the original error, or new evidence is turned up proving that the wrong man was convicted.

After a discovery of obvious error, police, prosecutor and court have in many of the cases shown commendable zeal in undoing the wrong. However, when years have elapsed before the error is discovered, the consolation is not very substantial.

Most of those innocent victims of miscarried justice were poor people, unable to command the means necessary to prove their innocence. A Public Defender should be instituted wherever he is not now available; that would be some safeguard against an incompetently presented defense.

When he considers it desirable, the judge should have the power to call in impartial experts to be paid out of public funds.

There should be a review by an appellate court on the facts as well as the law in capital cases, if not in all felonies, to the same extent as is permitted in the English and Scotch Court of Criminal Appeal, which came into existence through the negligence displayed by the prosecution and police in bringing about the erroneous convictions of Beck and Slater. A trial judge should not have final power and discretion in passing on motions for new trials on questions of fact, nor should he be deprived of power to comment on the weight and value of the evidence. Higher standards throughout our judicial system—in the bar, the bench, and prosecuting officials—are of course a *sine qua non;* and to help create and maintain these standards, an informed public opinion is a necessity. This in turn rests more upon the conscience and responsibility of the public press than upon anything else.

Finally, if it is found that the state has convicted the wrong man, the least the state can do is to indemnify him in money for the essentially irremediable injury it has done and thereby make slight contribution toward its own and its innocent victim's vindication. States have, on rare occasions in the past, made appropriations for such purpose, but it should become a matter of right by general statute—as it now is, within narrow limitations, in California, North Dakota and Wisconsin, and prac-

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ter of grace and favor requiring special legislation and hence, as a rule, special influence.

Most of these proposed reforms will require legislation. The necessity for it will be demonstrated by the convictions of sixty-five innocent men and women out of a great number whose lives have been shattered by the grossly defective administration of the criminal law.

Uncle Sam and the Juvenile Delinquent

A FEW days ago, President Hoover made public an elaborate series of recommendations for reorganization of the country's judicial system, based chiefly upon the various reports of the Wickersham Commission. Most of what he said was quite familiar, and needs no comment. There was one aspect of his proposals, however, which is of particular importance. It follows the lines of the special report made by Dr. Miriam Van Waters to the Wickersham Commission, regarding juvenile prisoners in federal institutions. "Each year," the President said, "many juveniles charged with violation of law fall into the custody of the federal authorities. In the interest of child welfare, there should be legislation enabling the Attorney General to forgo prosecution of children in the federal courts and to return them to state authorities to be dealt with by juvenile courts and other state agencies equipped to deal with juvenile delinquents."

Amazing as it may seem, there is at present no distinction in legal status between child and adult charged with crime in the federal courts. Over thirty years ago, the juvenile-court movement began in some of the states, and every state, with the exception of Wyoming, now has some machinery for dealing with the child offender in a parental rather than a penal manner. The United States government in this respect has failed to keep pace not only with the states, and most European countries, but with Russia, Turkey and Japan, all of which have provided distinctive treatment for delinquent children.

Since federal courts do not take cognizance of age, it is a difficult matter to discover how many children fall into the custody of federal authorities. In June, 1929, the Bureau of Prisons established a register of federal prisoners held in each judicial district except the District of Columbia. The Bureau's figures show a total for all ages of 46,038 men and 4,299 women received during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and held for trial, with 28,230 men and 1,804 women held under sentence. Of those awaiting trial 2,795, or 5.6 percent, were under nineteen years of age, and of the sentenced group 1,090, or 3.6 percent.

The Juvenile Delinquency section of the National Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement studied these jail records for the second half of 1930. One thousand and six boys under eighteen and seventy girls were discovered; eight were thirteen years of age, nine were twelve, four were under twelve. In addition to those held in jail, large numbers are in federal penal and correctional institutions. During the year ending June 30, 1930, 1,112, or 10.7 percent of the new arrivals, were under twenty years of age. To find the total number of juveniles sentenced, we must add those in the various state institutions under contract with the federal government, the so-called industrial schools. Young federal offenders are frequently sent great distances from their homes to institutions in Colorado, Idaho, Utah and Washington, where they serve their sentences.

Probably some five thousand new federal prisoners under eighteen are to be found in jails each year, and at least an additional one thousand will be serving long-term sentences in penal institutions.

The offenses for which these children are punished are of various sorts. About 44 percent are held for violation of the prohibition laws. Twenty-one percent have fallen afoul of the immigration authorities, and 17 percent are charged with theft of automobiles. Five percent have broken the postal laws, and the remainder are held for violating the statutes relating to white slavery, narcotics, or some aspect of the laws relating to interstate commerce.

The federal system involves adult criminal procedure, jail detention under appalling conditions, transportation over great distances, breaking of family ties and an almost complete absence of individualized social treatment. It is interesting to note that some twenty-three federal judicial districts, without legislation, have hit upon various juvenile-court expedients and send no children under eighteen through the penal process. Federal legislation, however, is needed to change the legal status of offending children. They should be dealt with as delinquents, not felons. It is important that authorization be given the Attorney General to return them home, but the essential goal is the declaration by the United States government that no child be deemed a criminal.

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The Great Ford Myth

ONCE AGAIN Henry Ford is being hailed as a national hero. He has come out with two new models of his car just in the nick of time, so we are told by his epileptic admirers, to end the depression. He begins by putting thousands of men back to work; he will, so he himself modestly admits, sell his cars practically without profit as his contribution toward saving the nation. He is, in short, the savior of America, the ideal of the age. While the paeans of his praise reverberate to the skies, what does it matter that a few of us in Detroit who really know the facts mutter to one another under cover of the harmony: "Oh, yeah?" Apparently very little.

Ford's own workers, who ought to know him best, are almost universally cynical; and they have good reason to be. When the five-day week was introduced in Ford plants, people were led to believe that the workers were to receive six days' pay when they produced six days' work in five. As late as 1928, Ford himself was making such assertions as, "We will stick to the five-day week for employees. That schedule on the old six-day basis of pay is working out splendidly." At that time the five days' production had exceeded that of six days before the introduction of the five-day week—but most of the workers did not receive an increase in wages. Those whose pay was increased found that the raise was not commensurate with the increase in production. As a matter of fact, at the time Ford was making such announcements, wages were being cut, in effect, throughout the River Rouge plant. The five-day week has itself been abandoned as occasion demanded—in 1929 I worked for many weeks on the six-day basis.

In the fall of that year Ford stated that thenceforth $7 a day would be the minimum wage in his plants. Immediately the bosses at the Rouge plant came around saying, "Go like hell, boys. If you're gonna get that raise you gotta increase production!" On our job production was raised from fifteen pans of stock a day to twenty-two, as a result of which one entire shift of our gang was laid off. Down the line from us one man was given two drill presses to tend instead of one, as formerly. The inspector on our job was taken off and we had to do our own inspecting and still keep up the new production rate. This speed-up took place all over the plant: it is significant that, concomitant with the wage raise, nearly 30,000 men were laid off from the Rouge plant.

The claim that wages are never cut in Ford plants has always been part of the stock in trade of Ford publicity agents. But they are cut. When the plants reopened in 1928 to produce the Model A, workers who had been getting $8 to $10 a day when they were laid off were hired again as new men at $5 a day. An old machinist who had been with the company ten years was hired at $5, although he had been making $8.40 prior to the shut-down. A tool-maker who had been getting $1.10 an hour on Model T was likewise offered the minimum wage when he returned. In many cases the older men were not rehired—younger men had taken their places at lower wages. This process, still going on, has been supplemented by another. Men are "transferred" from department to department, their wages being cut as they move. I worked (in 1929) with men making $6.40 who had been making $7.20 and $7.60 before their transfer. A lathe operator of my acquaintance was recently transferred to washing, and cut from $8 to $7.60 a day. Even workers in the aristocratic Lincoln plant are not immune—last spring all those making more than a dollar an hour were cut to that figure. As a result of this process, very few workers in Ford plants now make more than $7.60 a day.

To the outsider, this may seem high wages—but most Ford workers have lately been working only three days a week. In 1930 the wages of the average Ford worker were less than a thousand dollars. Taking into account the prevailing three-day week, the seven weeks of enforced idleness and a daily wage of $7.60, the worker made $959.20 during that year! In 1931 wages were cut and the working week reduced to one or two days a week.

Ford claims not only that there are no wage cuts in Ford plants, but there are none in any of the 3,500 plants which make parts for him. "To prevent wage cuts on Ford work, the Ford Motor Company makes periodical inspections of its supply companies," says The Wall Street Journal, quoting Ford officials. Many of these supply companies are in Detroit, the most prominent of them being the Briggs Manufacturing Company, which makes 43 percent of Ford bodies. This concern gained no little fame in 1930 because its earnings during the first half of that year showed "an increase of 45.78 percent over the $2,422,697 reported for the similar period in 1929. Earnings in the second quarter alone exceeded by $344,000 the earnings for the entire year of 1929." These increased earnings are perhaps partly explained by the 15 to 50-percent wage cuts which it put through early in 1930 and by the piecemeal cuts, from 5 to 30 percent, later in the year. In 1931 it was offering unskilled jobs at twenty-five cents an hour. Besides being locally notorious for its low wages, this concern also enjoys an unsavory reputation among workers because of its lack of safety devices on

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The Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Company, makers of Ford wheels, has cut wages of its tool-makers from $1.10 an hour to eighty cents, and increased the hours of the night shift to fourteen a night, seven nights a week. The Detroit Gear Company, makers of small Ford parts, took a leaf out of its master's book—it laid off all men getting ninety cents an hour and rehired them at seventy-three cents. At the same time their working hours were increased from nine to eleven and a half. Reports from Toledo, Cleveland and New Haven indicate that this is going on all over the country, in spite of Ford's "periodical inspection."

This letting-out of parts contracts, while highly profitable to the Ford Motor Company, has led to widespread unemployment here. Until the wage raise went through, comparatively few Ford parts were manufactured by outside firms. At the present time, according to Ford himself, 3,500 concerns are making Ford accessories. As a result of this, department after department at the Rouge plant has been closed down—brake, rear-axle, shock-absorber, differential housing departments, to mention only a few, have been shut down and their workers laid off. Nearly every second man I meet on the job lines has been laid off from the Rouge, and nearly half of them tell me they are jobless because of this contract-letting policy.

According to statements of the Ford Company, there were recently 84,000 men at work in the Rouge plant. Workers there say that at that time, apart from maintenance and service men, there were 25,000 at work. At capacity, the plant employs 120,000; during 1929, 30,000 men were discharged; lay-offs continued through 1930 until another 50,000 had been let out; in 1931, many thousands of production workers were laid off. It may be accurate to say that there are more than 25,000 on the pay roll, for there are literally thousands of unemployed Ford workers who still have their badges, and, *ipso facto,* are on the pay roll—but these workers usually have not worked for months and they are denied admittance to the employment office!

The exaggeration of Ford's employment figures can be seen in a report of Dr. W. G. Bergman of the Mayor's Unemployment Committee. "A survey of 3,476 recipients of relief showed 36.1 percent had been employed at Ford's at least a year. If the same rate holds in the other 42,000 families, the total cost to the city in January, 1931, of keeping Henry Ford's workers in condition . . . was $720,000." The Welfare Department reported last April that the fathers of over 5,000 destitute families had been laid off by Ford. As a matter of fact, it is very difficult to tell just how many men are at work now, for Ford is hiring and firing thousands of men daily. Old men, highly paid men, men who cannot make the speed, are being eliminated and in their places are being hired men who are young and fast. A worker on tire carriers, who has collected sta-

Ford has been in no small measure responsible for flooding Detroit with labor. Early in 1929 he announced he would hire 30,000 men. Thousands of workers, many of them with their families, many of them penniless, rushed to Detroit. Night after night, in bitter zero weather, the men stood in line. A few hundred were taken on—fire-hoses were turned on the rest to drive them away. A similar situation arose in 1930, as a result of which 10,000 unemployed stormed the plant and smashed the hiring office and the woven-steel storm fence which protected it. After that the police inaugurated a policy of repression. Men were not allowed to start fires to warm themselves; they were prohibited from gathering in groups; they were required to keep moving; if they were in line they had to move quickly if they were to avoid being beaten. This police guard is still maintained, since the rumors that Ford is "hiring" has brought thousands of men out to the Rouge plant.

II

It is not without reason that Ford's Rouge plant is anathema to its workers. The most common objection is the terrific speed requirements under which they have to work. As far back as 1917, says Murray Godwin, who worked for Ford at that time, this was a fertile source of discontent. How much more so has it become since then! As a result of the conveyor system, upon which the whole plant is operated, the men have no time to talk to each other; have no rest except for fifteen or twenty minutes at lunch time; and can go to the toilet only when substitutes are ready to relieve them at the "belt." One operation upon which I worked for a short time required that I be on the job, ready to work, just as soon as the preceding shift went off; work up to the exact minute for lunch time; take a couple of minutes to clean up and get my lunch kit and be back thirteen minutes later ready to work. This continued until quitting time. There was never a moment of leisure or opportunity to turn my head.

I have already indicated the speed-up which accompanied the wage raise of 1929. Since then, the process has been proceeding apace. A grinder told me recently, "The machines I'm running take up the distance of a short city block. By the time I'm at the last one the first machine has already stopped. The boss is shouting at me and I have to run back there, and then back down the line again to see that the last machine doesn't stand idle for a second. Now the boss tells me they're going to give me more machines." A worker on pinion gears started his job some years ago running four machines. It was later raised to six. A year ago he was given nine to look after and in the fall he was raised to twelve—with no change in the machinery.

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1925	3,000	produced with	160 men
1926	3,400	" "	50 "
1927	4,095	" "	39 "
1928	4,950	" "	25 "
1930	6,650	" "	19 "
1931	6,970	" "	16 "

Of course, there were great machine changes on this job, but the table gives some indication of the speed at which the remaining men must work. As Ford says, "It is pretty well understood that a man in the Ford plant works. Anyone who does not like to work in our way may always leave."

This speed-up, combined with the nervous tension present in the plant, results in a high accident rate. No outsider hears of these accidents, for Ford has his own hospital at the Rouge—also run on the conveyor system—and the Detroit newspapers are not eager to print news of accidents. The day I was hired, six men were killed in the power house. There is a belief, however badly founded, among auto workers that a man is killed every day at the Rouge. Even the Safety Department is overruled for the sake of speed. On a grinding operation upon which I worked, the dressing-wheel would often burst and could cause severe face injuries to the operator if he were not agile. The Safety Department ordered this discontinued and installed a new, safe device. A few weeks later this was removed and the old wheel put back —the new device had slowed up the work.

Nor will Ford pay compensation if he can possibly evade it. Last fall a man sustained injuries which resulted in rupture. The company refused him compensation and then fired him. A Negro friend of mine was hurt in the foot while at work. He was in bed for several weeks and was crippled for months thereafter. The company would not pay compensation, but offered him another job. He returned to work and was laid off four weeks later. And here is a newspaper item: "Harry Moody today filed suit against the Ford Motor Company and the Henry Ford Trade School for $50,000 for the loss of his right eye. He sets forth that he was a student in the trade school and was struck in the eye by a piece of steel while working at an emery wheel. He was sixteen at the time."

The state of mind engendered by these conditions is aggravated by a multitude of petty tyrannies. When President Hoover was scheduled to visit the Rouge plant, all workers, regardless of their jobs, were compelled to wear white shirts. A few months later all workers then wearing white shirts were fired. Last summer the barley water for the foundry workers was removed and in its place the men were told to drink ordinary hot water and take three or four pills daily which the foreman gave to them. At certain times you're fired if you walk down the main aisle in your building. At others you suffer if you're caught dodging among so that it was in sight. Overnight an order was issued that they be worn on the left breast and all who forgot to do so were laid off. In times like these, when every excuse is seized upon to lay off men, it becomes a nerve-racking ordeal to stick to the job. If you stay too long in the toilet, you're fired; if you eat your lunch on a conveyor, you're fired; if you eat it on the floor, you're fired; if you wait to return stock to the tool crib, you're fired; if you talk to men coming on the next shift, you're fired!

Practically everyone at work in Ford Rouge today owns or is paying for a Ford car. Every year for some time past the workers have been canvassed as to the type of car they have, when they intend to get a new one, and so on. In the spring of 1930 this system was used to force workers to get Fords on pain of losing their jobs. The names of those who did not possess Fords were turned over to salesmen and they reported back to the plant. Those who did not buy were laid off. For months The Detroit News printed letters of Ford workers and their wives, protesting against this. When that paper questioned Ford officials, it received a categorical denial that forced buying of Fords is carried on—but the letters continue to pour in on the paper. In at least one case, the company did not even keep its word with the worker who did buy a car—this man sold his old car, mortgaged his house to buy a new Ford and then was laid off a few weeks later! I myself know of several cases where workers were compelled to buy Fords—two of them lost the cars when they were laid off and could not keep up the payments.

III

The discontent which develops from these conditions is kept in check by the Service Department. The open section, whose members are known as service men, acts as a police body in the plant. It checks up on men walking around; sees that workers do not talk to each other; prevents bosses from becoming too friendly with their workers; enforces the thousand and one petty regulations of the plant. They are under no discipline. From their decision there is no appeal. It is significant that, when an employment manager defied the Service Department by retaining men they had told him to dismiss, he himself was discharged and the employment division was made a part of the Service Department. From my own experience with it, I am inclined to agree with a former member who told me, "It's made up of ex-pugs and thugs." As a class they are the most hated and despised—and feared—men in the whole Rouge plant.

The secret section works more smoothly. Its members are scattered throughout the plant, working with the regular workers. It is their job to "listen in" on the workers, find out what's going on

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likely to meet with swift and silent dismissal. Charles E. Sorenson, chief engineer and absolute ruler of the Rouge plant, says that men are not fired from Rouge because of their radicalism, but one of his subordinates, Donald Marshall, tells a different story. He told a group, when I was present, that at one time the company had been informed of the existence of "a Communist nucleus of five or six," and that "they had been cleaned out mighty quick." He explained that while the company does not coöperate with other corporations in maintaining a blacklist, it does not tolerate union or radical propaganda within the plant. In fact, so easy is it to get a man fired for "political agitation" that foremen have sometimes used it indiscriminately to get rid of men they don't like. There are members of A. F. of L. unions in the Rouge plant, but they are tolerated only because they keep their mouths shut. And those who cannot keep silent are disposed of by the silent, secret-service men.

These things I have portrayed hardly get below the surface—but they will suffice to show why Ford is no hero to his workers.

ROBERT L. CRUDEN.

Detroit.

Texas Jack

THE RECENT skyrocketing of Speaker John Nance Garner into the Democratic presidential-nomination horizon is in many respects the most interesting development in the approaching campaign. It springs from two deep-seated impulses among the rank and file of the Democratic leaders.

The first is the desire on the part of the various anti-Roosevelt forces to find a candidate who can dissipate the momentum of the New York Governor's boom. One after another of the white hopes they have trotted out have been left at the post. The anti-Roosevelt men see in Garner a hope of slowing down the New York Governor and opening the way for a protracted convention fight that will give them a chance to eliminate him. Actually they are not for Garner, but they are willing to boost his stock temporarily to offset Roosevelt.

The second impulse is rooted in a deeper and stronger feeling within the party. It arises from the desire of the rank and file Democrats to get away from everything the East implies and to find a good, safe politician with an innocuous record who knows the game and how to play it. Unconsciously, what they want is a Democratic Coolidge, and they instinctively feel that Garner is their man. They are not wrong.

Aside from certain superficial differences, there is a striking similarity in background, point of view, class consciousness and career between Garner and Coolidge. One was born and reared in Texas, the other in Vermont, but both come from Anglo-American stock of the small, independent farmer class, which the past decade of economic upheavals has driven into the background. Both, by cautious investments, have risen to the estate of small-town capitalists; Coolidge, in keeping with the New England tradition, invested his money in bonds and property, while Garner, following the practices of his section of the country, became the owner of land tially simple habits and pleasures. Garner lacks Coolidge's neatness of dress, but as a native of the breezy cattle country, he has a hearty neighborliness and comradeship which was wholly lacking in the sullen-mannered New Englander with his sour smile and cracker-barrel humor.

Garner is unquestionably a much abler and sturdier character than Coolidge, but both are the products of the escalator system. They entered the game early and obeyed the rules. Seniority did the rest. One of the most significant traits about Garner is his ability to bide his time. It is the true mark of an able politician.

Personally, Garner is one of the most likable men in Washington. He has an easy, informal manner, and a frank, boyish smile. He lives very simply, does no entertaining and attends few social affairs. Early in the session he was invited to one of Mellon's sumptuous parties, but declined on the ground that he was too busy. He works from early morning till late at night. His wife has been his secretary for years and still continues in that capacity. Until recently they lived in a small residential hotel near the Capitol, but when it was torn down last year to make room for the new House office-building annex, they moved to a small apartment in a more expensive uptown hotel. This, however, has been the only change in their mode of living since Garner's elevation to the speakership.

His work and politics occupy all of his interest and time. For relaxation he goes to the movies, though in his early congressional days he played a good deal of poker and gained the reputation of being one of the best card players in Washington. Politically he is a Dry and supports enforcement proposals, but he has been known to partake of the flowing bowl. He supported Smith in the 1928 campaign.

Uvalde, Texas, his home town, is a small cattle town with a population of five or six thousand. In addition to his controlling interest in the two small

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other city property there. He also owns a small ranch, and a large rambling house in which he lives. His one hobby is camping. He likes to go out for a few days, alone or with a friend, and camp out on some stream. He is proud of his camp cooking.

He was born in northeastern Texas, of Southern parents who migrated to the state after the Civil War. After serving two terms in the Texas legislature, where he first launched his plan of dividing Texas into four states in order to give the South an increased representation in Congress, he came to Washington in 1903 and has served there continuously ever since.

Several years ago, when there were some shifts in the Democratic leadership in the House, Garner was urged to run for the floor leadership. He even permitted the rumor to circulate that he was considering the matter, but that was as far as he went. As he was outranked by seniority, it would have been necessary to fight for the leadership, thus establishing a bad precedent. However, he knew that as long as he lived he need not worry about reëlection —for years he hasn't had to campaign—and he realized that it was only a matter of time before the place would be his by right of seniority. Furthermore, the Democrats were in the minority and there was no particular purpose in bossing a helpless crew. As ranking minority member of the House Ways and Means Committee, he was in an advantageous position to make himself felt in those matters which particularly interested him, such as taxation and tariffs, and that satisfied him for the time.

Last December the time came when the party leadership seemed worth having, and Garner proved himself capable of grasping and wielding it. Though many of the political wiseacres argued against the desirability of Democratic control of the House during a Republican administration, contending that it would be much cleverer politics to let the Republicans continue their responsibility for Congress, Garner wasted no time on such arguments. He organized his side of the House, conferred with Tammany Boss Curry on the matter, and when the gavel dropped, he had every Democrat in his seat and all differences among them ironed out. They have stayed ironed out ever since.

For the first time in Herbert Hoover's administration there is an efficient machine in the House. Not even in its palmiest days did the Longworth-Tilson-Snell triumvirate control the House as smoothly and effectively as Garner controls it this session with a nominal majority of only two or three. Amiably but firmly, Garner is providing the Republican President with a type of effective cooperation such as he has never enjoyed in Congress.

In former sessions Hoover had a large Republican majority in the House, but it was a sullen and rebellious one. In the closing days of the last session, two of its major leaders, Longworth and unreliable on other questions. The Democrats sniped and pot-shotted. But in this session all that is changed. Garner, ruling the Democrats with a steady hand, has crushed opposition and has the House "coöperating" in a way that must amaze and delight the irresolute and fumbling Mr. Hoover. The Republican House leaders look on admiringly and sit by with folded hands. They have nothing to do. The President confers with them rarely, for when he wants something done, he goes to Garner.

When the session began, political prophets announced that it would be the most turbulent and uproarious in years, but Garner has belied them. There hasn't been so quiet and uneventful a session in fifteen years. Measure after measure projected by the administration has been shunted through the House with dispatch and efficiency, while the Democratic leaders in the Senate, taking their cue from their House colleague, are doing the same. For the first time during his administration, Hoover has an actual working majority in Congress—made up of Democrats.

"This isn't a session of Congress," Representative La Guardia, the House progressive leader, observed in disgust the other day, "this is a kissing bee." There is every prospect that the session will wind up its affairs by the first of May and quietly adjourn for the national conventions, though when Congress opened in December there was a serious likelihood of an all-summer session.

It is no wonder, then, that the rank and file among the Democratic leaders have turned so enthusiastically to the suggestion of Garner as the party's presidential choice. Here is a man with whom they know how to deal and can deal, who knows the game and how to play it. Garner has no organization. It is doubtful if he will come to the convention with a single pledged delegation, except that from his own state. But if the leading candidates become entangled, and the fight becomes protracted, watch for the emergence of his boom and the heartiness with which it will be greeted among the Southern and Western delegates. "Texas Jack" will have an enormous appeal and the right kind of a break will bring him the nomination.

He would unquestionably make the strongest kind of opponent against Hoover. His early youth as a farmer's son and cowboy would win him wide popular appeal. He is an astute politician, and has a good record. He voted against the Eighteenth Amendment, as he did against the child-labor amendment, on the ground that they interfered with states' rights. On the other hand he voted for the Volstead law and has supported a number of progressive measures, the Wagner unemployment exchange bill, the Norris "lame duck" bill, and the Norris Muscle Shoals government-operation bill. He opposed the Mellon rates in the 1924 tax-reduction scheme and attacked his huge

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voted against the Smoot-Hawley tariff law, but was careful to protect the interests of his state and district. He loyally stood by Wilson, but he is no internationalist. He flatly refused to commit himself on the Hoover moratorium, and voted against it.

He is serving his thirtieth consecutive year in the House and knows Congress and the executive departments as few know them. He is a colorful and informal speaker, a master at repartee, and it is easy to imagine the vivid contrast he would present as a campaigner against the lumbering and lugubrious Hoover.

That Garner would like the nomination goes without saying. He is sixty-three years old, is in excellent health and, if nominated, could and would make a vigorous, popular campaign. He and his friends are lying low and saying nothing. Some of his closest associates have privately sent word to the Roosevelt camp that they favor the Governor as the first choice. Garner is on the best terms with the leaders of the anti-Roosevelt forces. Recently, Jouett Shouse, chairman of the executive committee of the Democratic National Committee, gave him an eloquent send-off in a speech at Chicago. So everything is set for the lightning to strike if the occasion arises—and there are many who think there is a good chance it will.

ROBERT S. ALLEN.

Chaos or Control

II: *The Organizing Man*[1]

THE CONSERVATIVE-LIBERAL and revolutionary philosophies share a number of the same errors in their analysis of social forces. They both oversimplify the motives behind the activities of individuals. They overlook the most significant tendency in social evolution, and minimize the leading idea which can eventually be depended upon to give meaning to our activities.

The classical economists, with their liberal background, assumed as a premise "the economic man." This man was like the atom, on the composition and activities of which the physicists built their theory of the nature of substances and of the changes which take place in them. So the nature and activities of the individual economic man were supposed to determine the structure of economic society. His main impulse was supposed to be the desire for material gain. Leave the individual economic man free to follow this impulse, said the classical economists, and the best interests of everyone would be served.

The revolutionaries accepted the conception of "the economic man" virtually without change. Everyone was in search of material gain. You could not trust anyone, under the regime of private ownership of the means of production, to do anything but seek profit. The chief difference between the revolutionaries and the classical economists was merely that the revolutionaries denied that this process was beneficial to everyone. Though it did serve the interest of the owners, it suppressed the non-owners. These persons, in turn seeking their own material advancement, would in the end dispossess the small minority of owners and transfer the ownership to themselves. They could not, of course, do this as individuals but only as a class; hence common ownership would take the place of individual ownership. The emphasis of the revolutionaries, like that of the traditional liberals, has centered about the issues of profits and property.

But it is now a commonplace of the sciences dealing with human behavior that "the economic man" is a myth. Man seems to have, to be sure, a desire for gain, and under the capitalistic system the owners of productive property certainly do seek profits. But man has many other impulses as well. You cannot abstract one of his impulses, pretend that it is a complete man, and account for everything that happens in a large realm of human endeavor on the basis of that one impulse.

We cannot identify a single motive as the cause of human behavior. But there is a leading habit or trait observable in many forms of social and especially of productive endeavor, which exists independently of whether this endeavor is carried on for gain. This is the habit of planning and organizing the task. Without planning and organization, most jobs could not be done at all, and a progressive technique of work or play would be inconceivable.

The self-sufficient farmer, in the days before machinery included more than a few simple tools and when there was no mechanical power except that in the muscles of men, women, horses and oxen, had to organize his operations with great care. He was surrounded by an external environment, consisting of the nature of the land and the soil, the succession of the seasons, the climate and rainfall. He had a family which had to be housed, fed and clothed. The requirements of the job before him demanded the apportionment of the land available among crops, pasture and woodland, the maintenance of the necessary domestic animals, the sowing, cultivation and reaping of the crops at the proper

[1] This is the second of a series of five articles, which are condensed and adapted from chapters in a forthcoming book, entitled

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attend to their shares of the work; the women not merely cooking, cleaning and serving as at present, but often spinning, weaving and pursuing other handicrafts. Such a coöperative producing and consuming unit could not proceed at all without forethought and order.

The inventor and improver of machinery, too, was exercising the faculty of planning and organization. He was given, by the environment and by the work of his predecessors, certain devices like wheels and levers, certain sources of power, certain mechanical principles. He made new combinations of these, or improvements in the old ones. The objective was to do more work more easily. The ostensible motive may have been, in many cases, material gain. But the method was inevitably the better arrangement of existing materials and forces of production. By thinking far enough ahead, and establishing new routines in the handling of these factors, he could increase the wealth unit per labor unit.

So it was with the organization of factories, of commercial houses, of canals and railroads, of means of communication. The growing technique of industrial life was a function of the planning and ordering faculty of man. It involved the coördination of materials and of persons to accomplish tasks which could not be accomplished with more primitive materials or by individuals.

This same faculty of man is, moreover, the one which admittedly produces the most far-reaching changes in his environment and his social customs. It is a truism that the widening of markets which accompanied the railroad, combined with the superior efficiency of production which arose from steam power in factories using machinery, was what destroyed the handicraft, the local mill, the self-contained community and the self-sustaining farm. It built many of the great cities, deprived others of importance, brought about agricultural specialization, widened the employer-employee relationship. Our present civilization is perhaps better described by calling it a machine or a technical civilization than a capitalist or a profit system. Desire for gain really existed long before the flowering of the "industrial revolution." The institutions of privately owned capital and profit were characteristic of many earlier trading communities regardless of their primitive methods of production. The profit motive is not the sole determining cause of what we have today. Our civilization is built upon, and wedded to, machine technique. And that, in turn, is too narrow a term for what is really a faculty of planning and organization applied, with the aid of the discoveries of science, to the production and exchange of goods. Though we ought to learn from the mistake made by the classical economist in attributing everything in the economic world to one trait, still we may well substitute for the "economic man," as the irreducible particle of our world of endeavor, the "organizing man."

a century ago remade the face of civilization and altered social customs, so the new changes are repeating the process and must continue to do so. This is why, when conservative-liberals talk about the regime of liberty and individual enterprise established by our colonial forefathers, they are talking about a phantom society which never did exist precisely as they picture it, and only vestiges of which survive today. And this is also why, when the revolutionaries talk about the "capitalist system" as something which is essentially the same now as it was when Marx wrote about it, and as something which can be changed only by the accession to power of a submerged class, they are talking about an abstraction which omits most of the shape and color of the reality. The capitalism of today probably differs more from that of 1848 than the civilization of Soviet Russia differs from that of the capitalist United States. In the faculty of mankind which habitually so plans and organizes that technique is altered, we find the inevitable force of social evolution, the basic cause of change.

Though the "organizing man" may give us the reliable force of change for which we are looking, and though the result of his activity may be, in a broad sense, an inevitable trend toward world order, still it is important not to rely upon him as an automatic force outside ourselves, or to rest in mystic assurance of "progress" that is indistinguishable from the shallow optimism of the pre-war liberals.

A discerning observation is that as man's organizing faculty proceeds, its effects become more far-reaching. In its simpler forms, the development of technique may be conceived principally as a process of adapting human beings to their natural environment. Primitive man slowly changes his habits, his ways of working and fighting, in order to be more sure of getting food, clothing, shelter, ornament and dominance over his enemies. But as technique develops it begins to change the environment itself. Man may kill off game. He may cut down forests. He may deplete the fertility of virgin soil. He may exhaust mineral resources. He may protect human life so well against enemies or disease that overpopulation ensues. Most striking of all are the tremendous changes in environment brought by mechanical power, and the organized activities which have sprung up to employ it. Within a few generations the face of the world, and the type of problems with which man must deal, have been radically altered. Not only does the organizing faculty change the environment, but it appears to change it at a constantly accelerated pace. Whereas earlier generations had centuries in which to adapt themselves to changes by slowly accreting or discarding habits, we have only decades.

It is clear that the organizing faculty usually produces not only foreseen, intended changes but unforeseen, unintended changes. The intended

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nishes quicker transportation for longer distances; a new machine does more work with less labor. The unintended changes may be extremely troublesome: the railroad leads to overconcentrated metropolitan population and slums; the machine produces unemployment. Automobiles not only furnish mobility to normal transport and travel; they also congest city streets, influence sexual habits among the young and provide a ready means of escape for criminals. We deliberately adapt our habits as far as is necessary to produce the intended changes, but we usually do not adapt our habits readily to cope with the unintended changes. These come upon us as if some god had decreed them; we tend to regard them as fate, and to hold as closely as we can to our old cultural pattern by way of defense against them.

This phenomenon has been given, by Professor W. F. Ogburn, the apt name of "the cultural lag." Developing technique and inventions rapidly produce a new environment; but the culture pattern fails to keep pace with technical change. It is bound by tradition, habit and taboo; in this respect we are like the primitive races studied by the anthropologists. The vested interests of old or particularistic organized groups also stand in the way of adaptation. The disparity between our old habits and the new environment creates increasing discomfort and danger; social strain is observable on every hand. Eventually readjustment of some sort comes. In the end it is usually the old culture pattern that breaks down rather than the use of the new technique. Culture then changes by a sudden jump. This is what happens on a large scale when a social revolution occurs. It may also happen on a smaller scale and by a less violent change.

Another useful way to consider the effect of developing technique is to understand the change of scope which it presents to the organizing faculty. While handicrafts persist, the unit of production remains small, and hence small-scale organization is appropriate to deal with it, as on the self-sustaining farm or in the primitive tribe. But when machinery is invented, it makes the original process automatic. The organization inherent in the machine takes care, once and for all, of the coördination which formerly had to be exercised by human beings every time the operation was performed. The field wherein organization is necessary increases in area and complexity as organization reduces to automatic and learned habits the smaller tasks.

In its primitive forms, organization of materials and men appears to be almost an unconscious activity. It arises by the slow growth and change of habits. Minor variations occur, either by chance, or by the ingenuity of an individual applied to a detail, or by the imitation of a practice found in another group. Culture patterns are passed on from generation to generation. Those habits which tend to increase the opportunity of survival for the process is virtually one of natural selection. This is sufficient when change of the environment is slow. But with the development of technique and the more rapid alteration of environment, there arises a more reasoned and conscious art of organization. It employs foresight and experiment. It attempts to outline a dependable science as a guide to its activities. This reasoned effort, this deliberate application of tested principles of organization, is the means by which man may cope with the exceedingly rapid changes accompanying the maturity of the machine age. And it must be applied to the whole array of changes produced by new techniques. We must inquire, not merely what are the intended changes brought by a new device, but what may be the unintended changes. The area of the unforeseen must be restricted as narrowly as possible. Foresight must be employed in the interest of control and adaptation. This foresight and control is the instrument with which we may reduce the cultural lag. It is the embodiment of intelligence and will. It is the enemy of the vague, the complacent, the superstitious, the inert.

The application of conscious organization to a limited realm of endeavor is illustrated by the school of management engineering which in the United States was formally inaugurated by Frederick W. Taylor and is now called Scientific Management. By means of intelligent analysis and careful measurement, it broke through the crust of custom which had grown up in manufacturing establishments. Naturally enough, its first point of attack was the job of the individual worker. The story of how this made possible great increases of output and eliminated wastes is an old one.

Scientific management did not have to go far before it discovered that its task was not to centralize authority, not to bend the wills of many to the will of one, but to coördinate the activities of all concerned in a way dictated by the requirements of the situation. The final authority was not the human boss, but the nature of machine industry. And scientific management assumed that the purpose of machine industry was to produce as much as possible with as little effort as possible. It assumed that everyone concerned would have a mutual interest in achieving this objective, and hence that the coöperation essential to an ordered and scientific method of production could be achieved. Because these assumptions were not entirely valid, under the business regime, scientific management has been unable to fulfill anything like its full ambition.

From the individual worker, the engineers went on to the coördination of the several departments of the plant. They elaborated procedures for seeing that materials and semi-finished products flowed along the shortest possible routes, and in correct quantities. They balanced the work of the departments so that blockades would not occur. They

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the intelligent selection and treatment of personnel. They eliminated organizational wastes of many sorts. They devised apt systems of cost-finding and accounting control. They developed the distinction between the "line" function of executive responsibility and the "staff" functions of advice, research and communication. They turned their attention, not merely to production, but to purchasing and selling. They worked out methods of administration for large industrial organizations with many units so that their parts could be harmonious. They discovered which activities must be centrally controlled, and which must be decentralized in order to avoid bureaucratic stagnation. These are merely samples of the application of reason and foresight to the problems of industrial organization. While there are only a few establishments in the United States, or in the world, which are thoroughly well organized from the point of view of the more advanced scientific manager, the indirect influence of scientific management in transforming industry everywhere has been tremendous. In spite of the prejudices, conventions and stubborn habits which have obstructed these experts at every turn, reason has had a signal success in adapting the internal organization of single establishments and companies to the inherent necessities of the machine technique.

The principles underlying the practice of scientific management were recently generalized by Dr. H. S. Person, managing director of the Taylor Society, as follows:

> a. Research in its various forms—the basic approach to a solution of the multiple problems of management;
>
> b. Standardization—the specification of purposes, policies, plans, projects, facilities and methods, as the relatively constant factors in terms of which plans may be made and their execution directed, measured and appraised;
>
> c. Planning and control—the organization and direction of the application of facilities along predetermined lines for accomplishment of purposes, policies, plans and projects;
>
> d. Coöperation—recognition and acceptance of the laws governing managerial situations discovered by research, formulated in standards and utilized in planning and control.

Thorstein Veblen was the first to point out, in his "Engineers and the Price System," that this sort of activity is in fatal and fundamental opposition to the natural disposition of business, if we distinguish business from industry. It is used to serve business purposes to be sure, but the type of its action is essentially different. The engineer strives to eliminate guesswork in the interest of predictability. He thus reduces risk and is the enemy of that very speculation from which business often derives its biggest profits. The engineer is interested in more production, whereas the business man often is impelled to limit production for the sake of profits—just as the worker does so in the interest of the security of his job. This "conscious withdrawal of business man under an individualistic system, is precisely what the engineer is striving to abolish. The engineering technique cannot find its full fruition under a business order, and consequently, thought Veblen, the engineers, in their effort to develop a scientific, rational and useful industry, will find themselves in opposition to the business regime. He expected that labor would also oppose that regime in its own interest, and that these two forces would unite to further a fundamental change of control.

This expectation has, for the time being, been disappointed. Many an engineer has been more business man than technician, and many another, finding his employment and advancement dependent on the favor of business, has failed to do anything more than serve his masters' interests. And it does not follow, because a man has learned how to build a bridge or operate a mine, that he will be impelled to apply, or knows how to apply, similar coördinating efforts to our economy as a whole. Nevertheless, Veblen was right in believing that the sort of ideas embodied in good engineering practice are opposed to the chaos of competitive private enterprise. As more and more people—both engineers and others—come to understand this fact, and as they see the inherent superiority of the engineering approach, the traditional business way of doing things is bound to lose its popularity.

The Taylor Society in the winter of 1930 held a discussion of certain propositions drawn up by its managing director, Dr. H. S. Person. These propositions were not set forth as the final conclusions either of the Society or of Dr. Person; but they were an admirable condensation of what many engineers were thinking and saying. They set forth that "The operations of industrial society are not yielding substantial good to the greatest number of industrial citizens. This is because those operations are not . . . organized with that end in view." More particularly, it is "because of an inconsistency between the basic principle of business enterprise—*individual self-interest and intuition*—and the basic principle of the production technology which that enterprise, without full appreciation of its influence, has come to use—*coöperative integration.*" Failure to extend the latter principle is what causes dislocations of industrial processes, unemployment and the halt in our progress. This type of observation, the memorandum continues, is not new; better organized societies have many times been proposed. But the suggested utopias have not been in accord with the possibilities presented by the technologies of their times. What is new in the present is "industrial technology, which has undergone great and rapid change during the past half century." New principles of organization and control of individual enterprises have been invented and tested. "If these were applied to the organization and control of industrial society, conceived as an organic whole, many and perhaps most of the forces which now cause periodic dislocations and distress in industrial

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The obvious conclusions are, that the problem must be recognized, that an industrial self-government must be created which will involve "greater limitation to individual freedom in business activities than is at present assumed to be desirable," and that the principles of scientific management developed in individual enterprises must be applied "to industry conceived as one vast enterprise in which all members of industrial society are workers and shareholders in common."

It is not here implied that the management engineers will at once be employed to organize economic society as "one vast enterprise," or that industry will create the necessary self-government so to employ them. We are now in the stage of social change where the old habit pattern is trying to maintain itself; we are in the depth of a cultural lag. Vested interests and particularistic organizations which are in the more advantageous positions can be counted upon to oppose change. Those engineers and others who see the necessity of organization on a wider scale constitute the minority which first senses the validity of a new idea. Through this influence it may be expected to spread. They are not in a position of actual power; their leadership so far is only moral and intellectual; it is likely to remain so for a good while to come. But it is through the spreading of such basic and leading ideas that shifts in power begin. Revolutions in ideas almost invariably precede great changes in actual social organization, just as changes in environment precede revolutions in ideas. Popular faith in the old way of doing things fades; stubbornly conservative leaders and outworn institutions lose their prestige; the leaders of thought shift their loyalties.

No social order is so strong that it can stand forever unchanged when the forces of human evolution are against it, just as no basic change is easy, prompt and readily predictable as to its time and methods. But the strength of the conception of planning and organization, as differentiated from that, for instance, of the revolutionary class struggle, is that it can permeate all orders of society and win loyalty from the more intelligent of the dissatisfied everywhere. It can utilize whatever forces of protest exist. Whether it will eventually center about a new political party, or a more radical faction of industrial leaders, or a strong labor movement, or a group of proletarian revolutionaries, is uncertain. Whether it will establish itself in practice by a sudden, violent overturn, or by a longer process of trial and error, with minor strains and dislocations, we cannot say. Doubtless the process will vary in different parts of the world. For the present, the idea is its own best weapon, to be cast forth and seized by anyone who wants to wield it. The idea struggle will, at least in the immediate future, have more importance than the class struggle. The class struggle gives evidence of important points, but the idea struggle saps the prestige of the hampering cultural pattern itself, and provides the new faith about which constructive effort must eventually center. We can count on the organizing disposition of mankind eventually to create economic order. GEORGE SOULE.

Washington Notes

Democratic Complacency Shaken—Playing Second Fiddle to the G. O. P.—Mr. Hoover Defended—Why Not a Third Party?

THE PRESENT state of mind of our most conspicuous Democrats of the type who have become leaders largely through the pleasing if not very discriminating custom of the Washington correspondents to refer to them as leaders, is not what could accurately be termed satisfied. I regretfully report that the exuberant happiness with which their hearts were filled a brief while ago by the plight of poor Mr. Hoover and the 1932 prospects of their party has somewhat diminished. At the moment, they are less complacent and considerably less confident than they were. The reasons, as I gather them, are two—first, their failure so far to impress the country with their party's capacity to lead instead of to follow; second, the absence of any prospective nominee for the presidency who can be built up to heroic size and for whom there is a genuine national sentiment. So far as this session of Congress is concerned, they fear—they very much fear—that the idea is seeping into the public mind that the Democrats, having gained control of the House as a result of a campaign in which they promised to obliterate Hoover's blunders and present a Democratic program that would put the country again on its feet, had not and have not now any program, and will not make good on their promises.

One of their promises—in fact the main one—was that a Democratic House would wipe out the iniquitous Hawley-Smoot tariff law and lower rates all around, thus releasing trade and restoring prosperity. It now looks as if the Democratic party at this session would make a perfunctory tariff gesture and not even propose to cut down a single rate in the law. In addition, the Democratic party so far this session has presented nothing resembling a legislative program of its own. On the contrary, it has followed Hoover's lead from the start, and with almost complete solidarity has passed one Hoover recommendation after another until the White House program has been adopted practically as a whole. It can be—and is—contended by the Democrats that they could do nothing else, that to combat the White House bills would have been rotten politics, that they supported them in the public interest and are entitled to equal credit with the administration.

None the less, the fact remains that it is the administration program which has gone through, and Democratic leadership has not materialized. If these Hoover bills were essential to business recovery and bank stability, why did not some of them originate in the Democratic camp? This seems a natural question—and there does not appear to be much of an answer.

The truth, of course, is that the present management and

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reactionary as those of the Republicans. There is no essential difference in their economic outlook, and when the Democrats allowed Mr. Hoover to take the initiative, there was nothing to do but follow. The more mentally alert of the Democratic leaders know this to be true. What disturbs them is the belief that the truth is beginning to penetrate to the people. If the fact, so long obvious to every thoughtful man, becomes generally recognized—namely, that in the matter of principles, policies and issues the two old parties are equally destitute and identical, that there is not an original thought or a hopeful proposal between them, it is not going to operate to the advantage of the minority party. So far as the Democrats are concerned, the extraordinary way in which they have trailed the administration during the past three months has certainly contributed to the dissemination of that idea. An effort is being made to prevent its spread and counteract the effect of Democratic support of Hoover's recommendations by a revival of the attacks upon Hoover through the Democratic Committee Publicity Bureau, but these appear to me less well done, and consequently less effective, than before. For one reason, the blasts from Garner and Connelly and some of the others are too obviously planted, and the points they make are too personal and petty to carry much conviction. For another, the Republicans are not now taking the publicity barrage as supinely as before. And here, too, the reasons are apparent.

In the first two years of Hoover's administration the Democratic attacks on him went almost completely unanswered. He literally had no defenders in his own party in Senate or House. By most of the regular Republican wheel horses he was thoroughly disliked—still is, for that matter—and a good many of them took more or less satisfaction in the Democratic lambasting. It is easy to recall Mr. Hoover's resentment because no member of his party in the Senate opened his mouth in defense. But last year and this year are different propositions. The situation has changed. Today the Republican politicians, in Congress and out, accept Mr. Hoover's renomination as inevitable. The convention and the campaign loom ahead of them. He will head the ticket. A good many Republican Senators will be running on the ticket with him. All of the Republican House members who succeed in being renominated will be hooked up with him. In every state and city local Republican candidates, for Governor, mayor and many minor offices, will be on the ballot. The political fate of these men is linked to Hoover's. If he is overwhelmingly beaten, most of them will go down with him. If he wins, most of them will pull through. Hence, every Republican politician and office-holder everywhere has now an immediate, vital and selfish interest in building Mr. Hoover up—and they are all hard at the job, which I may remark is no easy one. The Democrats have helped by their absence of program and by the solidarity with which they have followed his lead both affirmatively in favoring the Reconstruction Finance and other bills and negatively in opposing the La Follette-Costigan relief bill.

As to Democratic attacks, they no longer go unanswered. The worshipful Hurley lashes out; indignant retorts come from the formerly quiet Capper of Kansas, and the sharp-chuckled with satisfaction when the Democratic lash fell, now comes to the defense of the man he started calling "'Erbert 'Oover." And then, too, there is the estimable Jancke, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, whose eulogies are, perhaps, somewhat crude and ridiculous, but nevertheless serve a purpose. Funniest of all, of course, are the laudations of Jim Watson.

If the Democratic leaders had had the brains and the initiative to map out a financial program ahead of Mr. Hoover, and announce it before his message came in, they would be in better shape now. They had plenty of time. They knew they had control of the House months before Congress met, but not an idea, a thought or a plan was developed. Instead, they waited until Hoover's recommendations came in, and then found themselves unable to do anything save trail along behind them. This would not matter so much if they had in sight a candidate for whom there was a wide and unmistakable public demand, some towering figure who could play the role of popular hero. Instead, there is going on in the party a rather bitter struggle for the nomination among some half-dozen aspirants not one of whom is of heroic size and not one of whom has so far been able to stir the popular pulse, nor is likely to.

Reports here certainly indicate that the country as a whole is not excited by Roosevelt, Ritchie, Baker or Garner. I leave Smith out because his nomination is too remote to be discussed seriously. The chances seem to be that Roosevelt, for whom there is probably more popular feeling than for anyone else—though even for him it is a mild affair—will be sidetracked by Smith and the favorite-son attack. The alternatives are not inspiring. Any one of them may, and probably would, make as good a President as any Republican we have had in a generation—which is not saying much—but the question is not how good a President he will make, but how good a candidate. It seems to me that the belief that any Democrat can beat Hoover, which has been so widely spread, had better be revised a little if someone is to beat him. Thoughtful Democrats here who see that the work of building him up has started and know the skill with which it can be done, are getting a little concerned. To those who detest the idea of our being a one-party country, who think the Republicans have been in power far too long for the good of the nation, who were outraged at the corruption of the Harding administration, the smug complacency of the Coolidge administration and the ineffective fumbling and folly of this one—to these it seems high time for the Democratic party to get itself a program and find a candidate who will make some sort of real national appeal. Up to now, there is no evidence that a Democratic administration would be a change.

It is the kind of situation that makes one wonder whether, despite the obstacles, the thing for the progressive group to do is not to start their third party and go to it. It may be impracticable, but it is hard to see how the need could be greater. And it could be done, too, if the progressives were unified and determined, which they are not. There are too many of them coming up for reëlection this fall on the regular Republican ticket.

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Strictly Honorable

Child of Manhattan, by Preston Sturges. Fulton Theatre, March 1, 1932.

The Moon in the Yellow River, by Denis Johnston. Guild Theatre, February 29, 1932.

IF THE intentions of the tenor hero in Mr. Sturges' success of two years ago were strictly dishonorable, those of his heroine, in his new play, with the subtitle of "The Portrait of a Gal," are honor itself. The millionaire old-New-York-family type goes at his aunt's request to investigate a dance hall on the Vanderkill estate and falls in love with one of the hostesses and she with him. He gives her the usual clothes and the usual apartment—this time a very smart one, excellent theatre décor by Mr. Jonel Jorgulescu, who did the twelve diverse settings for the play. The usual baby looms. She asks his permission to let it be born, he marries her, though secretly. The child dies. On the assumption that he has married her through kindness, as if trapped, she wants to free him, and sets off for Mexico. A suitor develops there from Oklahoma, who, despite her past, falls manfully in love with her on the boat to New York. The reporters meet the boat to broadcast the news. In the last scene, back again in her apartment, the Westerner begs to be allowed to marry her; Vanderkill returns, enraged at her treatment, though scornful of the newspaper notoriety; her reasons for divorcing him are in line with all her other straight goodness and fair play, and their life is to go on forever now as lovers.

This episodic play of Mr. Sturges' is about as good as "Grand Hotel," save for the falseness of the attempts at New York dance-hall speech; both of the plays are more or less novelistic tosh and worth little. The chief comment on "Child of Manhattan" must concern the acting. Miss Dorothy Hall, in what is an ambitious part, played her serious scenes with a quite genuine appeal, the scenes, that is, in which she was not supposed to be very dance-hall hostess, speaking—with badly written lines to speak—a sort of New Yorkese and to be all engaging crudity and dear-girlness. In the scenes where tenderness entered or something quite simply pathetic, Miss Hall was good. Miss Jessie Ralph as Aunt Minnie, the girls' chaperone or wardrobe mistress or whatever it was, played capitally. Mr. Reginald Owen proved what a blessing he is to our stage by getting a complete persuasion into all he did. In a superficial play, never certain how deep, how comic, how pathetic, it means to be, we require the greatest tact to keep things together and steady. Mr. Owen not only brought the right scale in humor and in emotional values to this role, but was even convincing as a man of the world, a gentleman (in a fine sense) and an aristocrat (not the standard Broadway type). Without this convincingness in Mr. Owen the play would have collapsed mostly into its empty self.

The new Irish play is hard to discuss, though it can be said at once that the Theatre Guild should be honored for producing it; I doubt if anyone else in New York would have done so. The play itself I enjoyed, which, I suppose, is one form of criticism. I respect it too, not particularly as a drama, for its line wanders and its script is often arbitrary as it rattles along, but as a deliberately and subtly elusive piece of theatre writing in which lies a rich vagrant

we have heard before in the Celtic drama, legend, poetry and politics. The Irish gift for sheer words and a facility that runs from imagery, improvisation and so on down to inexhaustible gab, give a certain superficial air of great expressiveness to the play. But as a matter of fact, the interesting and often deep content lies far inward. It concerns the Irish national problem and temperament, the resentment against industrialization, and the willful and passionate action of mind in the midst of our human scene. This is one of those plays that can be at the same time both slightly tedious—at times perversely so—and strangely absorbing.

Farce, as we know, is able, through its essential character of exaggeration, to come closer to tragedy than comedy can do, for comedy is bounded within actuality and social reason. The impression of a scene, farcical, mad, comically ironic and yet quivering with sensitive feeling and overhung with tragedy, makes dramatic stuff that is not, perhaps, so easily accessible to us as it is to Irish audiences. It is this fundamental quality about Mr. Johnston's play that makes it so often amusing, tedious and finely moving and tragic, all together; and that makes it, also, so indefinable. If I had to describe what the main and important matter of this play is, I should like to reply with what St. Augustine said about Time: I know if you don't ask me.

The title of the play comes from lines by Mr. Ezra Pound

> And Li Po also died drunk.
> He tried to embrace a moon
> in the Yellow River.

One of the themes in the play is of a man, Dobelle, who has lost, at the birth of the daughter who now lives with him, the woman he loved, and has retired from the position of a great engineering authority to the seclusion of a far Irish county, by the sea. There is the theme of the spinster sister, Colomba, always busy sticking up typewritten manifestoes and rebellious warnings. There is Tausch, a German, who has brought the government power house to the community; he represents industrialization and is opposed by objectors under Darrell Blake, who on this very night of Tausch's visit to Dobelle, plans to blow up the power plant. After ironies of circumstance, arrests, the unjust shooting of Blake by the commandant, when the blowing up has failed because of wet powder, inefficiency and the small cannon's not going off, two worthless old men take the remaining shell, saved from the military when Colomba carried it out under the tea cosy, and throw it into the slagheap, where it explodes and wrecks the turbines of the plant. The play ends with Dobelle's turning to his hated child, whose education and heart he will henceforth take in charge.

Mr. Henry Hull, as the objector Blake, half poet, university man, drinker, talker and adventurer in the imagination, had one of the two chief and most difficult parts in the play. His work was delicate and careful, without quite coming off, too much mere sincere effort without any shine to it. Mr. William Harrigan as the commandant, Miss Alma Kruger—in a bad make-up—as Colomba, Mr. Egon Brecher—playing with a better and simpler method than usual—as Tausch, Mr. Edward Nannary as the drifting brother, who has made the small cannon, Miss Gertrude Flynn as the young daughter, Mr. Barry Macol-

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ance not to be forgotten. Mr. Claude Rains, as Dobelle, the pivotal role of the situation, was wholly right, I should say, not to mention his bringing, as he appears to do always, to the character that concentrated attack of his and a genuine and complete theatricality in presence, reading and diction. His weak moment, that with the young girl at the very last of the play, was due to the dramatist and the director. The scene as written is too long by a good deal. And Mr. Philip Moeller, whose work with so intangible a problem as this play presented seemed to me very admirable, if somewhat melodramatic, made in this last passage a mistake, I think, by putting the two players so far down, in a light that distorted Mr. Rains' face and in a frontstage place expected by all stale—what is called ham—tradition.

STARK YOUNG.

Stravinsky; Gabrilowitsch; Fantin-Latour

LIKE MANY other artists and high-strung persons, Stravinsky is probably anything but self-assured, and possibly subject to periodic fears that he is not the man he takes himself to be. By what other hypothesis shall we explain his unfortunate arrogancies, and the over-golden opinions of his own performances which he frequently displays? They are all overbalanced and disproportionate, these assertions of the perfection of "Le Sacre," "Les Noces" and "Oedipus Rex," as the high moment of the rest of his compositions. They all protest too much, and promulgate the very doubts they attempt to meet.

An instance of the perverse effect of one of these maneuvers came to light on the occasion of the presentation of Stravinsky's violin concerto by Samuel Dushkin at a concert of the Philadelphia Orchestra. The newspapers and the program-books simultaneously carried reports of the composer's comments on his new piece, cast in the form of a comparison of his little concerto with Mozart's; and they proved extremely self-congratulatory and largely sophistical. Stravinsky was quoted as saying:

> For Mozart the invention of the theme or themes represented the maximum effort: all the rest was made up of a certain formalism . . . and with the developments of the theme, the repetitions, refrains and necessary "cadenze," the half-hour was soon reached. . . . But now that this development of the theme in a scholastic sense no longer exists, and still less repetitions (I am speaking, of course, of my own work); now that every measure is the result of an enormous condensation of thought (sometimes in a whole day's work I just manage to write one or two measures), proportions have changed, and a concerto of fifteen minutes is already a monumental work.

Now, the provocativeness of these remarks flowed not from the exaggeration of the conventionality of Mozart's "fantasies" and the denial of the interest of thematic development; not even from the fact that the brief Toccata of the Stravinsky concerto contains a forty-bar recapitulation, and the little Aria II repeats its initial figure twice unchanged but for the [illegible] of "condensa-

insignificant work. The little concerto does not actually appear to be as bad a piece as the critics pretended. It seems a neatly constructed bit of neo-classicism. The two Arias are austerely expressive of emotion; their final measures are exquisitely musical; and the Capriccio sparkles and charms with its elfish sonorities. At the same time, neither strong nor original conceptions trouble these modest pages. Their tales are twice-told; most of their stuff has been put to prior use by Stravinsky himself, and some of it by Bach. Thus, the attribution of intense thoughtfulness and grandeur to the concerto parallels Cocteau's arrogation of "a certain monumentality of aspect" to his *café* "Oedipus Rex." Hence, the exacerbation of a critical fraternity which came to the performance spoiling for a fight; and the volley of Irish confetti which expressed its greetings to the poor victim.

The brown derby annually awarded to the maker of the most pointless orchestral program of the New York concert season bids fair to descend upon the laureled brow of Mr. Gabrilowitsch, this year again. The honor is no mean one, in a season conspicuous for Schumann revivals and almost general recourse to that good old clap-trap, the "Don Juan" of Strauss. Still, the Philharmonic under his leadership immediately associated, in a single concert, performances of the "Romeo and Juliet" of Tchaikovsky and the "Verklärte Nacht" of Schoenberg, creating a musical combination of an insipidity matched by neither Messrs. Stokowski, Kleiber nor Reiner. The two pieces represent similar experiences in relatively similar idioms. True, their conclusions are different. Tchaikovsky's "love-music" conveys an experience leading tragically to resignation; and Schoenberg's sings the "Look We Have Come Through" of a pair of tortured Viennese. Both are none the less representative of a phase of erotic experience which, from the physicality of the expression, and its simple imitation of a sexual rhythm, might appropriately be called the initiatory one, the experience of the antechamber. Neither expression is remarkably exquisite. Tchaikovsky's melodious score is characteristically heavy and slow, the unsubtle manipulation of a thick, organlike orchestra. Schoenberg's relatively iridescent piece for strings, an early composition, is somewhat oversweet, a sort of Viennese, Tristan-like chromaticism all in pinks and blues; exalted in spots; in others almost ludicrously literal. Both pieces are certainly genial enough to deserve places in standard repertories; but they do not belong together in a program; they would not pair even if they were ultimate expressions of their kind. The contrast between one romantic love-music and another is small, and the combination is abhorrent. A modicum of this music is ample, creating an appetite for larger realms of reality; and lingering over it and recapitulating it would appear the part of a singularly inert, insensitive mind. The hesitation resembles taking up one's residence in an antechamber; and antechambers are passageways; and station in them seems completely contrary to the spirit of music, which is motion!

The Museum of French Art has finally achieved an im-

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portion of his work has deserved but never universally enjoyed. This highly deserving element is not represented by Fantin's lithographs: they seem as sentimental as they ever did. Nor is it represented by his still-lifes and floral pieces, carefully studied and even free as certain of them uncontestably are. They persistently appear the products of conventionality of vision joined with formality of manner; the fruits recalling Chardin and the flowers, Van Os or some other floral master. The portion of his work actually triumphant at the Museum was the portraiture: it revealed Fantin to have been one of the very great nineteenth-century portrait painters. Formality of manner dominates in these paintings, too, but in conjunction with the expression of a form of human character that is universal and tremendously interesting to our time.

This form is a highly organized, self-contained, steady and somewhat immovable one. Fantin's elegant sitters were uniformly highly composed and serene persons, held within a certain circumference which represented a self-imposed limit of expression, and a barrier against the aggressions of the world. Precisely how his art communicates this inner organization, is not readily said: perhaps the quietness and composure of the poses is significant of it; perhaps the many strict and barrierlike lines, the line of Mlle. Fitz-James's décolleté, the line of Manet's cane, held across his body, the severe rim of Mlle. Sonia's stylish hat, speak symbolically. Whatever the means, the expression of the poise, the allegiance to an image of the self projected from within, which keeps the personality whole through all the vicissitudes of life, is ineluctable, assuring Fantin of a new worldwide appreciation.

For today we are all fascinated by the form of character he portrayed: possibly because it is so complementary to our unstabler own. Innumerable recent inquiries discuss the causes of this inner organization and the means of reproducing it, and find them from Dan to Beersheba, in revealed religion, in Confucius' human way of working and its ethical prescripts, in the imitation of George Meredith and the discipline of the *sieur* Orage. The truth would appear to be that this type of character is always fairly general. Solid examples of it contribute to the well being of every community; and extreme examples of it figure in every insane asylum. It is, probably, more generally prevalent among older people and in older societies than among young people and in young civilizations. Our own interest in it may be the mere sign of a growing maturity.

PAUL ROSENFELD.

Colloquy in a Garden

"Is it a door you want?"
"A corridor
That opens upward like a grave."
"Why have you never asked for this before?"
"O, but I have!"

"Why do you groping go with blinded eyes
Halting where earth's a hollow sound?"
"I have long known the way to paradise
Was underground."

JOY B.

CORRESPONDENCE

Mr. Rublee and the Barco Concession

SIR: I wish to correct the statement made in my letter which appeared in your number of March 2, 1932, to the effect that Mr. George Rublee was representing the Mellon interests in the negotiations for the Barco concession. Mr. Rublee, I now learn, was representing only the government of Colombia, by which he had been retained in this connection.

LAWRENCE DENNIS.

New York City.

The Hessian Hills School Fire

SIR: In February, 1931, a school burned down. Stuart Chase, through the pages of The New Republic, told the dramatic story of the catastrophe. He told how the director planned where the classes should meet next morning; how tradesmen and friends offered assistance; how teachers used the fire itself for classroom material—in mathematics, in civics, in physics, in general orientation; and he told how the children, instead of throwing their hats in the air because a school had been lost (as you and I might have done), were desolated by the fact and contributed enthusiasm and hard work to helping fit up a temporary home for their education.

The school was a small, progressive institution, not a public school. What happened to it was a first-hand lesson in the power of progressive education to stir a community. Everyone felt the loss personally—and friends far and near helped to build a new school.

That school is about to be dedicated. I think readers of The New Republic may be glad to know that Hessian Hills School, at Croton-on-Hudson, New York, is once more in a permanent abode of its own. On this hangs a tale. Howe and Lescaze, architects of New York and Philadelphia, wanted to build a modern and interesting school. They offered their services. These were accepted. And the plant of the Hessian Hills School, small, inexpensive, avoiding pretentiousness, is in part the production of the professional enthusiastic intelligence of architects who believe that buildings should be constructed for use, not size or mere impressiveness. . . . But the job is only begun. A second story is needed—as well as a small auditorium. Facilities in the nature of books and scientific equipment are required, and the school is handicapped by the lack of these.

WINTHROP D. LANE.

Trenton, N. J.

Is Mr. Huxley Bored and Cynical?

SIR: It is to expect perhaps too much that critics bring unfailingly a sympathetic insight and comprehension to the works which they review; but I cannot let Mr. Hicks and Mr. Gregory, writing in the issue of February 10, go unchallenged.

Mr. Huxley is apparently unfortunate, along with D. H. Lawrence, in that his work demands a more than superficial acquaintance, a more than desultory reading, before it offers up its real content. If Mr. Hicks had *read* "Point Counterpoint," if he had *read*, say "Proper Studies," he should not have thought of Mr. Huxley as a "bored, cynical and generally rebellious young man"; nor should he have concluded, after reading "Brave New World," that "he is, on the contrary, quite well satisfied with life as it is." He should certainly have avoided the gratuitous sneer implied in "And why, when you come to think of it, shouldn't he be? He has money, social position, talent, friends, prestige, and he is effectively insulated from the misery of the masses. Of course he demands the right to suffer bravely."

What Mr. Hicks and Mr. Gregory fail to comprehend (and in the latter the failure is still more indefensible) is Mr. Huxley's fundamental problem as a man and artist—the same problem with which D. H. Lawrence is concerned, albeit the approach is from opposite poles. It is the peculiar merit of these men as

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spond so to it, express it so thoroughly; perhaps because they are so consciously opposed to it. And when Mr. Gregory, quoting from the title poem of "The Cicadas,"

> Clueless we go; but I have heard thy voice
> Divine Unreason! harping in the leaves. . . .

concludes that "Huxley realizes, perhaps more acutely than anyone living today, that merely to praise the past is futile self-indulgence. Better to praise, half-heartedly, ironically, the forces of 'Divine Unreason,'" he completely misses the man. For in these poems, more clearly than in any other of his writings, Mr. Huxley has literally laid himself bare; has crystallized out the problem, and seen for himself the inevitable impasse in the intellectual way of life; has, indeed, renounced it, and taken unto himself, with a passion and a sincerity unmistakable only to Mr. Gregory and Mr. Hicks, that belief in a flowering passion for "Life," in the instinctive "Unreason" which is the negation of intellectual sterility. For

> Life, life! The word is magical. They sing,
> And in my darkened soul the great sun shines;
> My fancy blossoms with remembered spring,
> And all my autumns ripen on the vines.

LOUIS WALINSKY.

New York City.

The Yuel Lee Case and the N.A.A.C.P.

SIR: A communication on the interracial troubles in Maryland, published in your issue of February 17, makes an erroneous statement about the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People which I am sure you will permit us to correct. The writer says that the I.L.D. used the Yuel Lee case as the basis for attack on the N.A.A.C.P. "because the lawyer of the latter organization advised Lee to plead guilty."

Mr. Carl Murphy, editor of The Baltimore Afro-American and a member of the National Board of the N.A.A.C.P., informs us that this statement is not correct. He writes:

> Mr. Josiah Henry, N.A.A.C.P. attorney here, tells me that he did not advise Yuel Lee to plead guilty. As you know, Lee was rushed here for safety from the Eastern Shore.
>
> Henry, who is known by the guards at the city jail, was permitted to see Lee and was in the act of conversing with him when interrupted by the warden and advised that he would first have to get permission from Eastern Shore authorities before he could interview the prisoner.
>
> During this time Henry says he had only time to make the man's acquaintance and listen to the beginning of the story. He was interrupted and never finished. He was unable to give him any advice whatever.

HERBERT J. SELIGMANN.

New York City.

In re Registration of Aliens

SIR: The proposed bills now before Congress providing for the registration of aliens cannot be defended. They are a step in the direction of bureaucracy and arbitrary power.

In the discussion of these bills an attempt will be made to confuse the issue and to raise the question whether the saturation point for immigrants has been reached. Obviously these bills have no relation to the problem of a future immigration policy for entrance into the United States. Further arguments will be made by those who believe that our immigration policy in the past has been too lenient, and they will contend that these registration bills are a means of curing what they consider to be a mistaken policy in the past. It requires no argument to show that this position is both illogical and unfair. It does not require the services of a seer to predict that the aliens who have entered this country illegally are not going to register and subject themselves to immediate deportation. The proposed bills will not very effective in subjecting law-abiding, legally admitted aliens to constant espionage, intimidation, blackmail and extortion, and will furnish bigoted employers and their hired gunmen an admirable weapon in times of labor disturbances.

As a result of the war psychosis, which still continues, we have already had too much intolerance and too great an infringement of personal liberty. There is no compelling need for such legislation at the present time. As a nation, we are confronted with enough perplexing problems without creating additional ones.

FORREST REVERE BLACK.

University of Kentucky Law School, Lexington, Ky.

War Guilt and Professor Schmitt

SIR: In The New Republic of October 22, 1930, I reviewed Professor Bernadotte Everly Schmitt's "Coming of the War, 1914." Therein I called attention to alleged errors of methodology, especially mistranslation of documents in order to intensify the indictment of Germany, and the use of biased and unreliable sources. Professor Schmitt replied with some heat, denying the accuracy of my accusation. I answered that Professor M. H. Cochran was preparing a thorough book devoted solely to a critical analysis of Professor Schmitt's treatise and that interested readers could consult Professor Cochran's work and decide as between Professor Schmitt and myself. This book has now been published under the title of "Germany Not Guilty in 1914: Examining a Much Prized Book." The matters over which Professor Schmitt and myself clashed in the columns of The New Republic are dealt with in Chapters III, VI and IX. I shall rest content to have interested readers form their own judgment as to the accuracy of the assertions I made in my review of Schmitt's book.

New York City. HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Free Textbook of Esperanto

SIR: Wishing to give the readers of The New Republic an opportunity to look into the international language, Esperanto, which is now growing more and more popular, the American Esperanto Institute of Madison, Wisconsin, has decided to give away, free of charge, one thousand small textbooks of Esperanto, containing the whole grammar of Esperanto, three exercises and a vocabulary of 3,100 words. The little book will go forward to the first thousand persons who send their names, addresses and a two-cent stamp for postage.

KARL FRODING.

American Esperanto Institute, Madison, Wis.

It Was Seattle

SIR: In your issue of January 13, John Dos Passos contributes a chapter from his forthcoming novel, "1919." If what he says about Spokane may be taken as a fair sample of the novel, it certainly will justify the classification of "fiction."

Possibly, in a novel, a city may properly be made the scapegoat for the sins of all other cities, provided that the fiction is clearly understood to be such. At any rate, no leaders of Wobblies were ever lynched in Spokane, nor were ever any "shot down like dogs." During Wilson's visit to Spokane the Wobblies did not line four blocks, or one block; did not stand "silent with their arms folded staring at the great liberal."

It is to be regretted that a liberal "fictionist," for the sake of effect, feels it incumbent on himself to besmirch the reputation of a city. John Dos Passos is liberal, but not literal.

Spokane, Wash. ORVILLE C. PRATT.

SIR: Mr. Pratt is right. I find that the incident I referred to took place in Seattle instead of Spokane, as I had thought. The rest of the sentence obviously applies to the whole campaign of repression against the I.W.W. on the Pacific Coast and not to any particular event. Mr. Pratt's letter makes me wonder which part of it Mr. Pratt considers besmirching to the reputation of his city, the lynching of Wobblies or their presence on the street. In any event I owe him my thanks for putting me right.

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Revolution: The First Phase

The History of the Russian Revolution. Vol. I: The Overthrow of Tsarism, by Leon Trotsky. Translated from the Russian by Max Eastman. New York: Simon and Schuster. 522 pages. $4.

WHEN A WRITER of history happens to be one of the most dynamic statesmen of modern times, when his own achievements and reversals of fortune seem to compose dramatic chapters of history in themselves, we assume inevitably that his interpretation of events will be strongly conditioned by his personal part in them. Trotsky, the leader of the Bolshevist insurrection of October, 1917, People's Commissar and Commissar of War during the years when Russia was a Spartan camp, is now in exile; his name is stricken from the list of popular Russian heroes; he is engaged in a polemical duel with the leaders of the very party whose ends, yesterday, he served so brilliantly. All those who are within the church of Communism must regret or condemn his opposition and the notes of bitter criticism occasionally evident in his "History," on the ground that the Russian state is still in peril. Others may take satisfaction in the fact that the "electric" Trotsky of the civil war is replaced by the methodical and persistent Stalin of the reconstruction period. But the world at large, which does not know too well the political issues at stake—"permanent world revolution" or "socialism for Russia alone"—may find in this work one of the fullest and most powerfully painted pictures of the upheaval of 1917, by the hand of one of its leading participants.

The first large volume of the history, which will probably extend itself into several others, gives a highly detailed account of events from February to June, 1917, after prefacing the story with five introductory chapters summarizing the special condition of the old Tsarist order. If Trotsky, playing a role only second to Lenin's, stood too close to the scenes to write of them impersonally, he does apparently strive to be objective. Of his own actions he writes with restraint, and in the third person; the case for his history he rests upon the truth of the abundant documents used—often the testimony of detached observers, even of opposition witnesses. The emphasis he lends to these documents, probably only a few contemporary Russians are competent to judge. But actually, whatever rancorous, subjective motives the writer may have are swallowed up in the larger historical design of showing, first, the inevitability of the 1917 revolution and, second, its fatal progress toward Bolshevist (that is, Leninist) policy.

Only recently have we been able to estimate, through backward-glancing memoirs, the immense, silent force of the underground drive to revolt before 1917. The revolution of February began "from below," developing all the greater explosiveness for having been so long delayed. To the "Five Days" between February 23 and February 28, 1917, Trotsky devotes more than a hundred pages, both graphic and analytical. By his account, all were caught by surprise: the autocrats, the liberal bourgeois statesmen, even the revolutionary leaders, the best of whom were either prisoners or exiles. Beginning in a small strike in the St. Petersburg industrial district, broadening into a general strike, with the army soon veering to the side of the people, the first violent and quite bloody uprising of 1917 swept away all of the old Romanov furnishings. At

trays the swift, intense and passionate changes in the psychology of the masses, those "leaping movements" of ideas and passions during a revolutionary crisis, which seem to the police mind only the effect of "demagogues," but which are clearly the catastrophic result of an extreme lag in the social order.

Here is one of those moments so well illustrated by Marx's materialist conception of history, when the existing institutions and ideas no longer answer the needs of human production, bring only war and universal exhaustion, intolerable living conditions for labor, paralysis of land cultivation. Trotsky, an avowed disciple of Marx, pictures the sharpening of the class conflict, the subsidence of the princes, ministers, bureaucrats, parliamentarians, who "make history" in ordinary times, and the phenomena of rising mass action directly interfering in historical events. These are the "crucial moments when . . . the masses . . . break over the barriers excluding them from the political arena, sweep aside their traditional representatives and create . . . the initial groundwork for a new regime."

In this panoramic and neo-Marxian canvas, individuals play a subdued role. When their part as historic "personalities" becomes salient, they are seen simply as strong or weak "links in an endless chain of human events": a Nicholas II or a Lenin. But the veritable hero is the Russian mass, composite of militant worker and peasant soldier.

The revolution was inevitable. But why did it not confine itself to a capitalist-democratic form? Why was Russia, most backward of European nations, the first of all to effect a socialist revolution? This enigma, for all those who read their Marx too literally, Trotsky is at great pains to solve by pointing to the peculiarities of Russia's development which are still too little known in the West.

The huge Slavic nation was overwhelmingly agricultural, to be sure, and in the manner of the seventeenth century. But on the broad pyramidal base of feudal agriculture, as the historian shows, a hastily erected but quite modern industrial superstructure was laid. Factories of a considerable size were set up in the large cities at the end of the nineteenth century; they were chiefly promoted by foreign capital and soon took shape as larger units, proportionately, than were to be found in any other country. Trustification advanced rapidly here; among Russian factories those employing over 1,000 laborers accounted for 42 percent of the total; near St. Petersburg, the Putilov works alone had 40,000 employees. And it is very probable, as Trotsky maintains, that some 25,000,000 persons, numbering families, were directly involved in or grouped about Russian industry and manufacture.

Here was a quickly recruited proletariat, with no traditions as such, exploited without restraint by capital on the one hand and politically oppressed on the other by feudal laws. Thus a big layer of Russia became intensely Westernized; labor was rendered completely militant and, above all, class conscious, its conditions being a perfect replica of those which brought labor unity in Western countries. But since the bourgeois democrats leaned upon the Tsarist regime, the proletariat soon became "hospitable to the boldest conclusions of revolutionary thought." This "young and fresh" proletariat hated its capitalist masters no less than it hated the military and land-owning autocrats. As for the remaining five-sixths of the people, most of them landless peasants, the World War educated them

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trayed army—which by 1917 had suffered 5,500,000 casualties—and their deep grievance would take a definite political form. (As cavalrymen guarding the streets of St. Petersburg they would be passive, first winking at the demonstrating workers, then shooting down the police.) These preliminary conditions Trotsky exposes impressively, as offering the clue to the events that followed the uprising of February: failure of two Moderate provisional governments; triumph in October of the insurgent Leninist party, swimming upon the Leftward tide of the masses.

In its painless beginning, Russian capitalism was too young and politically amenable to alter Tsarism and build up a bourgeois-democratic state; by 1917, in Trotsky's penetrating phrase, "it would be overripe" for its fall. Belatedness of development explains a great deal to us. Capitalism using modern technology in industrial operations was politically inert; and the people's soldiers were left so "ignorant" that, oddly enough, they would not shoot down strikers during a crisis, as would so many an American Legionnaire; they would follow neither Miliukov nor Kerensky into war. Land having been promised to the Russian slave of the soil, he would say in his ignorant fashion: "What good will the land be to me when I am dead?"

The February revolution was made by the mobs of workers and by soldiers breaking their discipline. But almost at once—after making sure that the Tsar was "out cold"—a Moderate, capitalist group came off the fence, to take control of the new State, to captain the slave's revolt! Here was a paradox indeed, our historian maintains. Again the people were too "ignorant" to endure open resistance of the new government to their demands for ending the War, for land and the eight-hour day; they could make nothing of the issue of "international obligations to our Allies" which was so well understood by the enlightened farmers and laborers of other countries. It is Trotsky's, as it was Lenin's, view that the real temper of the masses in 1917 was infinitely farther to the Left than that of the provisional government.

In truth, there was to be little government for eight months. The revolutionary workers and soldiers, in defense of their revolution, set up at once their soviets in Petrograd and elsewhere, as they had done in 1905. The unofficial soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies, dominated by socialists of the Right and Left variety, enjoyed the popular trust; the Miliukov ministry, and the subsequent coalition ministry of Kerensky, needed again and again to go to the soviet's executive committee to see its orders carried out. There was "dual power," that is to say, no real state power. The downfall of Kerensky is here interpreted as an inevitable development.

On April 4, 1917, when Lenin arrived in the "sealed car," he announced his view, so astounding at first to the old-line Bolsheviks (who were but Left socialists), that the War "had sharply advanced the possible date of a social revolution in the West," while the agrarian character of Russia (its land question) permitted a revolution of vast scope, "into whose whirlpool the rest of Europe would be drawn." Trotsky, arriving a month later, delayed for a short period and then joined Lenin's campaign for direct transition to a socialist state.

What Lenin saw underneath the disorders, the crowd scenes, the peace and hunger demonstrations of those intervening months, were the inherent contradictions of the temporary regime, the impasse into which the provisional

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ist factions, Social Revolutionary, Menshevik and Bolshevik, for not having taken over state power at the outset. Why bother about the Duma and its ministers? "The Soviets are enough."

Trotsky, who bestows so much withering criticism upon the public men of 1917, furnishes, however, the most eloquent testimony of Lenin's political acumen and flaming will. After his dramatic pictures of the February days in the first half of the volume, the historian gives us an intimate, revealing account of the Bolshevist "line" as set by Lenin after April, 1917. Lenin reorganized his Left socialist party, which had been waiting pedantically for the bourgeois revolution to run its course. He imposed, as its immediate program, the seizure of state power; as its objective, the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat." Now organizing secretly or agitating openly for adherents, now "patiently explaining," now arming themselves, or preparing mass action by "molecular penetration," the Bolsheviks entered upon a course of activity which, as recorded here, should be highly instructive to students of the modern political art.

In any event the tactics of Lenin suggest a patent contempt for traditional democratic procedure. This temper, which always seems strange to American minds, is also shared by our historian. The Russian leaders as a group understood the game of capitalist democracy only in the light of 1914-1918. Lenin apparently held that the Soviet embodied an "approximate" sovereignty; its deputies were workers and also soldiers drawn from an army of eight millions. Rather than wait for the proposed Constituent Assembly, he sought to fan revolutionary energy and initiative which would place its stamp upon the laws, the institutions of the new state. (The question of popular sovereignty has remained insoluble. We must remember that even Jean Jacques Rousseau had deep, prophetic misgivings about parliaments.) In any case the Bolsheviks were not *Blanquistes,* seeking merely minority rule; they waited until they had won the majority of the Petrograd Soviet, the only potential force of order in the chaotic Russia of 1917. But by that time, October, the choice lay only between Kornilov, "the man on horseback," and the uncompromising Left socialist, Lenin. The October *coup d'état,* in which Trotsky himself was to take a dominant part, is to be the subject of a second volume.

In the last analysis it was the Bolsheviks who, trained in the hardest of schools, numbered the boldest statesmen among their leaders. They formed the "guiding layer" for the human masses who seemed bent, in the unhappy, intermediate period here described, only upon destruction. They had a technique and a program which endured, after all, the test of events.

Trotsky as a historian seems fully equal to his great subject. History moved swiftly, and with an endless effect of novelty, in those heroic days when armies melted away before the voices of "agitators." Did the Bolsheviks alone possess the sense of history, so that they might create and defend the first proletarian state? Trotsky's closing phrases bear significant warnings for the future. The Russian government which he helped to build has proceeded thus far with signal success; but in his view, it is faced with new difficulties, new tasks which "cannot be achieved within the framework of an isolated state." The fate of that state, he declares, "is thus wholly bound up with the further course of world history." For Trotsky believes stubbornly that only by engendering worldwide revolution can socialist Russia save herself

A New English Critic

The Human Parrot and Other Essays, by Montgomery Belgion. New York: Oxford University Press. 213 pages. $4.50.

THERE is no abler critic in England than Mr. Montgomery Belgion. The present volume is his second, and though its form is fragmentary, it is richer in perception of critical problems and more resourceful in attacking them than "Our Present Philosophy of Life." "The Human Parrot" evinces a dialectical skill, a range of learning and, more than these, a grasp of fundamental problems that demand a larger undertaking than a series of miscellaneous essays. The connecting scheme is too slight, the particular aim in each essay too ambitious. A problem is stated, a sharp distinction drawn; but the Socratic neatness of conclusion is too bare to be wholly convincing. For example, Jacques Maritain's theory of art is not necessarily valueless because it contains an element of the theory he attacks—romanticism—nor because a scholastic cannot be allowed other than scholastic opinions. This defect of mechanical logic reaches into some of Mr. Belgion's finest discussions, and tends to discredit an obviously sound point of view.

The fragmentary character of the eleven essays leaves to the reviewer more to define than would eleven full books. Rightly, of course, Mr. Belgion holds that in dealing with modern problems "one must feel one's way," so he gives us no general position of his own. He examines some leading dogmas of our time. His analysis of Lippmann's "Preface to Morals" is, I think, a final refutation of the belief that "scientific disinterestedness" has religious and moral significance:

> . . . what is that reality which can [he says] be detached from our own fears, hates, lusts? Can we indeed come, as he says we can, to understand the origin of our feelings, or is all we can understand Dr. Freud's theory of such an origin?

The essays entitled "The Human Parrot" and "The Mad Imagination" undermine the Behavioristic theory that thinking does not occur apart from words; and this makes way for a shrewd discussion of "Meaning in Art," in which the loose modern usage of the term "symbolism" is mercilessly exposed: a symbol must exist prior to its use in art, just as thought precedes expression. The drift of the discussion is some brand of Platonism that Mr. Belgion will doubtless make explicit in future books.

The two essays that are, in my opinion, of great value, being complete in themselves, are "Statecraft in Russia" and "What Is Criticism?" The latter defines criticism a little vaguely and narrowly as the exercise of "sensibility and intelligence," but meanwhile Mr. Belgion does away with the whole of Mr. I. A. Richards' utilitarian theory of poetry: "But"—and this is the point which disposes of Mr. Richards—"nobody can ever learn from a poem itself that the emotions it imitates are profound and serious. To recognize this, one must already know what is profound and serious." Mr. Richards' dogma that poetry "orders our minds," and thus has "educational" value, is further disposed of by the fact cited by Mr. Belgion, that much poetry is not personal experience at all, but a reworking of stock themes.

"Statecraft in Russia" will probably deal a heavy blow to liberal Utopists who make a religion of the classless pretensions of Marxism to "scientific history," like any other such pretensions, are certainly false and, secondly, that Marx set up a fictitious causal relation between the eventual decay of capitalism and social justice for the worker: the latter does not necessarily come out of the former at all. And so he concludes that the Soviets are using Marxism as a rationalization of their motives to power, and he cites the Communist faith that the benefits of collectivization are being stored up for postponed enjoyment, in some "future generation." The Communists, in other words, are a political party, like every other political party, bent on staying in power. This is another blow to Mr. Lippmann's "disinterestedness." His followers will do well to consider realistically, not the worker's religion, but the implications of his actual position.

ALLEN TATE.

Ham Fish's Legion

King Legion, by Marcus Duffield. New York: Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. 330 pages. $3.

THERE are two kinds of patriotism. To embrace one is to desire for one's country the best there is and, in a spirit of understanding and love, to help one's country achieve it, according to one's lights. To embrace the other is to insist that one's country already has achieved the best in everything, and dauntlessly to stigmatize as unpatriotic everyone who is of a different opinion. A spokesman for the first type of patriotism wrote the Declaration of Independence. A spokesman for the second wrote the preamble to the constitution of the American Legion, and by no accident apparently: as an official body, Mr. Duffield's record shows, the Legion might very plausibly be regarded as a projection of the so-called mentality of Hamilton Fish, the author of the preamble, whose love of country may be more closely identified with the patch of it that he owns than he has the wit to discern. Mr. Duffield's book is not so much astonishing as depressing. It recounts how a quarter of the American soldiers under arms during the War returned home to be buffaloed into militantly supporting a policy of Pleasing the Plute.

Mr. Duffield points out that the Legion's genesis was at least semi-official; there is evidence to show that it was financed in considerable part by business interests, as a bulwark of uncritical conservatism against the many-shaded Reds, pacifists, liberals and other moral perverts who dissented from the principles laid down by the Legion's own floundering father, Mr. Fish. Chapters are devoted to the mountebankery and mob action, under the Legion banner, employed negatively to counterattack radicalism and positively to whoop up What-Is-ism, and more of it. Some amusing items concern the rampant rage for big navies and small ideas among the Legion's comical women, who seem to compete in high-pitched yahooism with the buffleheaded clerics who have attached themselves to the organization. The educational activities of the Legion are outlined, from the promotion of student military training to the suppression of peace-loving teachers and the expurgation of history books containing history. On the other side of the ledger stand Legion-sponsored civic achievements, most of which would do credit to any Girls' Friendly Society in a good-sized town.

The Legion's lobbies and "treasury raids" have come in for much criticism from other sources. Most of such

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leveled against Mr. Duffield's. One has difficulty in becoming indignant over the veterans' willingness to pry their way into a trough presided over by Mr. Mellon and Mr. Mills, apparently for the sole benefit of those least in need of aid. One is amused or saddened, as you choose, by the spectacle of the Legion, at its last national convention, permitting itself to be diverted from the rest of the "delayed compensation" by the speech of a fat promoter of corporation welfare.

MURRAY GODWIN.

Existence Justified

Stanford White, by Charles C. Baldwin. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. 399 pages. $3.50.

AS THE general reader may gather from Mr. Baldwin's collating of the biographies and correspondence common to White, St. Gaudens, McKim and company, Stanford White was the incarnate genius of the city of New York. Enough of the facts are given, but little is done to bring out the truth. The copious quotations from the yellow press make disheartening reading, but are in sharper focus than the interpretative passages, which are, at their best, inferior to Lewis Mumford, whose "Sticks and Stones" Mr. Baldwin seems to have used as a source book. The text and appendix has "dope" for students of architecture, but the technical criticism is negligible. The architectural illustrations add nothing important to earlier monographs. No plan is reproduced, no section, no detail. Long's pretty sketches of White's chief work do not tell us about White's mind, as his own sketches would have told. They tell only of the Palladian mirage which hovered over New York before the eyes of its clubmen, in their dreams of a future which seemed almost to be in process of realization.

Three pistol shots shattered these dreams. White was murdered by one blackguard; his work for his city has been demolished and defaced by a cityful of blackguards. The moral applies only to the city—though some moralists, like the protagonists of Job, made the mistake of believing that the sad fate of these buildings was their inherent destiny.

Much of the energy which White put forth, like all the best New Yorkers, in "simply trying somehow to justify his own existence," was spent upon objects that deserved to be ephemeral. Much of it was directed toward permanence. The distinction between the chance fate and the inherent destiny of White's best work cannot be better illustrated than from an article in which John Jay Chapman points out that the church on Madison Square brought the passer to a "full stop of admiration." That was the trouble with these buildings; they stopped traffic. No New York building can be allowed to do this except while it is being put up or pulled down. But many of White's works "greeted you charmingly and bade you pass on." There was no traffic menace in these, yet they also have been demolished. White's best works were transitory not because they were impractical, but because the blackguards who destroyed them were impractical.

"How do you expect to have a beautiful city if you have no regard for your old buildings?" a British architect asked. The straightforward answer would have been, "We do not expect to have a beautiful city, but only to have a good time tomorrow, after office hours." It is not so much, as Chapman says, that "there is no room in America for a past" as that there is no room for a present man who is better than his fellows. Stanford White had a good time *in* office hours and carried his office along with him wherever he went. He justified his existence by giving people a good time *now*. The appropriate fate of such an artist is that his work should stand forever.

Even if White had been more "practical" or "more serious," his buildings would not be standing today. Even the work of artists who are good traffic cops does not stand. It may be that White was too little of a traffic cop to be ranked as a very great architect. Philip Sawyer says, "To White, an artist, architecture meant color first and form and texture next, proportion afterward and plan last of all." There are serious minds to whom this judgment would appear to justify the fate which overtook the buildings, but the criticism is more clever than just. White was more realistic than this statement makes out, for the medium of his art was not only drafting material but also the building material of the structures on their sites. His profession was such that he could well leave it to others to study plan, proportion, etc., in their proper order, and conduct his work to suit his own talent.

He had a bad name among housekeepers because he forgot closets, but Madison Square Garden emptied itself in four minutes. Some have perhaps too housewifely an idea of architecture. The tower of the Garden was as important a fact as its exit facilities. Its arcaded sidewalk was one of the few practical things in the preposterous city. Some day the genius incarnate in him will become incarnate again. Then all dogmatic cry against architectural ornamentation will be stilled and the false distinction between the handsome and the useful will melt away. As sure as fate, when room is made for a present in America, its "old" buildings will be allowed to stand.

JOHN B. WHEELWRIGHT.

Book Notes

BIOGRAPHY AND MEMOIRS

LASSALLE, by Arno Schirokauer. *Translated by Eden and Cedar Paul. New York: The Century Company. 320 pages. $5.*

George Meredith's novel, "The Tragic Comedians," deals only with the final, fatal episode in the meteoric career of Ferdinand Lassalle, the real founder of the German Social Democracy and its greatest orator and agitator. Franz Mehring, the great historian, critic and journalist, wrote of him on various occasions with insight and authority, but he did not write a full-length biography. The book before us is, to our knowledge, the most fascinating biography of Lassalle that has yet appeared. The boundless energy of the man, his ceaseless activity in so many and diverse fields, the splendor of his personality, his tremendous fascination for all kinds of men and women, the conflicting tendencies in his character which led to his early and tragic end, are reproduced in its pages to the very life. The style is unfailingly vivacious and witty, though the wit seems now and then somewhat strained and overdone. But in spite of its undeniable merits, the book falls short of being a completely satisfying biography. It tells us very little, or nothing at all, concerning Lassalle's plan of campaign in the great agitation of his last two years, or his most important works, particularly the "System of Vested Rights" and "Capital and Labor," or his most famous speeches, such as the "Workers' Program," and the several addresses on the nature of constitutions. And though there are several references to Lassalle's personal relations with Marx, the reader is left with no more than a wild surmise as to the nature of the differences that culminated in a complete rupture between the German leader and the international "Commander-in-Chief" in London. In following the fortunes of the Workers' Union after Lassalle's death, our

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J. B. von Schweitzer, whom even Marx characterized as the most intelligent and energetic of the German leaders, though he distrusted him as he had distrusted Lassalle. These various shortcomings of the book can be ascribed to the author's social ideas, which are extremely vague, immature and chaotic. The value of the book is biographical and literary, not historical. The translation is excellent, and the various estimates of Lassalle which the translators reproduce in a "prelude" are well calculated to enhance the reader's interest. It seems strange that they have not seen fit to include anything from the brilliant pen of the above-mentioned Franz Mehring, who was certainly the foremost authority on Lassalle, and who did more than anybody else to rehabilitate his name and fame.

THE FRENCH BOY, by Paul Vaillant-Couturier. *Translated by Ida Treat. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. $2.50.*

Monsieur Vaillant-Couturier, for many years editor of L'Humanité and a Communist member of the Chambre des Deputés, has not emphasized his political opinions in these delightful memoirs of his boyhood. The book is a subtle study of youth in pre-war France. The author lays particular emphasis on the follies of state school instructors who, by attempting to mold his mind and character to the pattern of civilization and by imposing culture in forms unrelated to the living world, threatened to stifle his creative intelligence and primitive freshness. It was not at school, he points out, but when left to himself or with his comrades that he really discovered the world of art and ideas. And it was in the Pyrenees, where he spent his summers, that he grew to understand the French sense of the past and of the soil.

Public Questions

AMERICAN INDUSTRY IN EUROPE, by Frank A. Southard, Jr. *Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 264 pages. $3.*

Since 1850 American capital has been steadily penetrating European industry. This volume, which was awarded the 1930 prize in the annual essay contest in economics conducted by Messrs. Hart, Schaffner and Marx, deals with the topic in an intensive manner. Dr. Southard does not offer an original point of view, but he is thoroughly alert to his problem. Those who wish to have a complete picture of America's role in European economic affairs will find the book valuable not only for the abundance of the data collated, but for the clarity of its presentation.

LABOR FACT BOOK, prepared by the Labor Research Association. *New York: International Publishers. 222 pages. $2.*

This book essays to fortify workers' militant organizations with data on economic, social and political conditions in various countries, emphasizing the United States and Russia. It portrays imperialism, financial control of industry, public officials lawlessly crushing the people's liberties. It is a good beginning, but needs much revision. In a list of frame-ups the Centralia case is not mentioned. The Ettor-Giovannitti and Joe Hill trials are cited, without indication that they were I.W.W. cases. For research use some of the information is too compact; often single initials are given instead of first names.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN NATIONAL POLITICS, by William Nowlin. *Boston: The Stratford Company. 148 pages. $2.*

This is a valuable survey, at once comprehensive and condensed, of the Negro's activity in the field of national politics. It lists and considers briefly the careers of Negro congressmen; it outlines the struggle of the Negro for representation in national conventions, the part played by Negroes in national campaigns, and the recognition won by them under various Presidents. Mr. Nowlin judges the value of these presidential administrations to the Negro specifically, by the amount of federal aid given to Negro education, the political appointments given to Negroes and the presence or absence of discrimination against Negroes in the Civil Service. In almost all of these directions a new low, which re-summarize the shifting political allegiances and ideals of the Negro voters, and the various programs suggested for their economic and social advancement.

Fiction

HIGH SUMMER, by Richard Church. *New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith. $2.50.*

Aside from its merits as a novel, "High Summer" might well be considered a justification for the modern go-getting woman. Norah was such a woman. Tossing aside her anemic family teachings, and her still more anemic husband, she struck out for herself, convinced that realities were the only things that mattered in life. Beginning as a waitress, she gradually became a major stockholder of a manufacturing corporation. Her material gains were punctuated with pathetic tragedies and rousing love affairs. Good realist that she was, Norah paid more attention to her love affairs, with the result that she became the mate of the man she wanted and, incidentally, a rich woman.

WITHOUT CHERRY BLOSSOM, by Panteleimon Romanof. *Translated by L. Zarine and edited by Stephen Graham. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.*

The more love changes, apparently, the more it remains the same thing. The theme of these seven stories by Panteleimon Romanof is love among the Communists, where "free love," as Stephen Graham notes in a foreword, is the mode and chastity is regarded as a sort of "chocolate pastry"; where to be in love is to be thought "mental." Nevertheless, given the American counterparts of Comrade Romanof's characters and situations, it is difficult to see how the results would be far different: "it all ends the same way, cherry blossom or no cherry blossom . . . why mince matters." The Russian contribution would seem to be a brutal honesty that achieves its own untruths. The knowledge that the family unit has abdicated in favor of one collective family evidently does not guarantee the individual against the sense of insult and injury, and the tender soul may still ponder the question whether it is kinder to be smacked in the face or kissed on the forehead. Of the seven stories in Romanof's book, the first two are really successive parts of a truncated novel, and the last reads like a play by Ibsen—God save the ruble!—written in letter form. Only four are genuine short stories and these lean heavily on pre-revolutionary tradition.

Contributors

Robert L. Cruden, an automobile mechanic who has worked in the Ford and Packard factories, contributes to The Nation, The New Masses and the labor press. He is now at work on a novel dealing with automobile workers.

Robert S. Allen, a Washington journalist and one of the half-dozen authors of "Washington Merry-Go-Round," was forced to resign from the staff of The Christian Science Monitor following the publication of that book.

Paul Rosenfeld, author of several volumes of criticism and an editor of "The American Caravan," is at work on his second novel.

John Peale Bishop's long short story, "Many Thousands Gone," won the contest held last spring by Scribner's and was later published in book form. The same firm is soon to bring out a new book of his poems.

Matthew Josephson, whose biography of Rousseau was recently published by Harcourt, Brace, is the author of a biography of Zola and "Portrait of the Artist as American."

Allen Tate, poet, biographer and critic, is completing a life of Robert E. Lee. His second volume of verse, "Poems: 1928-1931," has just appeared.

Murray Godwin is at present free-lancing in New York City.

John Wheelwright is a Boston architect, poet and essayist who contributes reviews to The Hound and Horn and other periodicals. He is now at work on a book dealing

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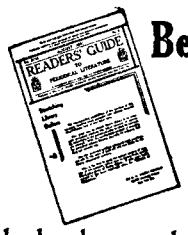

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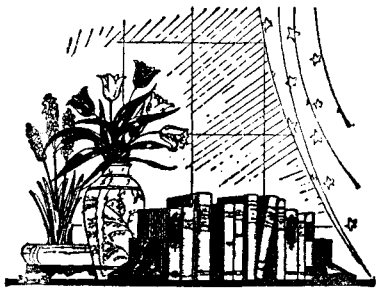

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